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MEMOIRS

OF

WAYNE COUNTY

AND THE

CITY OF RICHMOND

INDIANA

FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL TIMES DOWN TO
THE PRESENT, INCLUDING A GENEALOGICAL
AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD OF
REPRESENTATIVE FAMILIES
IN WAYNE COUNTY

HON. HENRY CLAY FOX, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME I.

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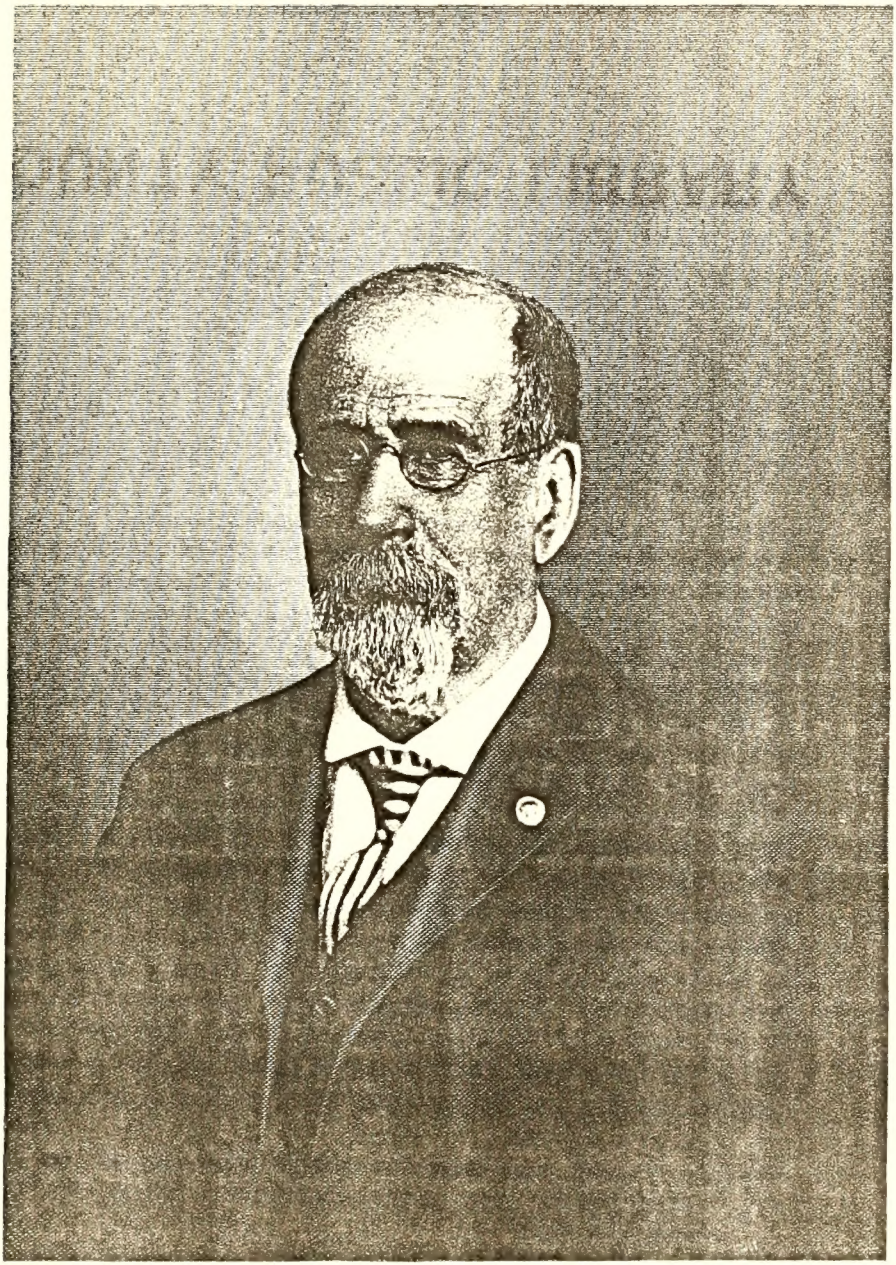

Henry C. Fox

PREFACE.

In issuing the "Memoirs of Wayne County and the City of Richmond," the publishers take the preface as a means of acknowledging obligations to many who have so cordially co-operated in their preparation. Hon. Henry C. Fox, as editor-in-chief, has given intelligent direction and courteous suggestions, his long residence in the county and superior ability especially fitting him for the position. The chapter on "Homicide Trials in Wayne County," prepared by him, is of surpassing interest. Prof. Harlow Lindley has contributed chapters upon "The Making of Indiana" and "Pioneer Life a Century Ago." The value of these chapters are due not only to their subject matter, but also to the ability of the author as a historian. John B. Dougan, the genial president of the Second National Bank, of Richmond, has edited the chapter upon "Wayne County's Financial Institutions," and he gave the work the same careful and intelligent consideration that characterizes his efforts in all matters claiming his attention. Dr. Charles S. Bond, who stands high as a physician and surgeon, has edited the chapter entitled, "Physicians and Scientists," and to his painstaking efforts and interest in the subject is due the completeness with which it is treated. Hon. William Dudley Foulke has carefully revised and edited the chapters relating to "Journalism" and "Literature," and his high standing in the field of letters is a guarantee of the thoroughness and excellence of his work. Dr. Robert L. Kelly, the well known president of Earlham College, and one of the leading educators of Indiana, gave his valuable assistance as editor of the "Educational" chapter, the completeness of which is a source of pride and satisfaction. The chapter entitled, "Agriculture and Allied Interests," has been prepared under the supervision of Walter S. Commons and Edward Y. Teas, than whom there are none more competent to speak upon agricultural and horticultural matters.

That the "Memoirs of Wayne county and the City of Richmond" may prove satisfactory to our patrons is the hope of

THE PUBLISHERS.

SURNAME FILE

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INTRODUCTION.

It has been one hundred years since Wayne county was erected out of the territory formerly embraced in the county of Dearborn. It would seem that this should be an appropriate time for the citizens of Wayne county to review, step-by-step, the remarkable progress that has been made in that time. Few counties in the United States anywhere are more advanced in all that pertains to modern civilization, and none can excel it in intelligent citizenship.

There have been previous attempts at recording the history of this county. None of them is of recent date; neither do they go into detail, which might have been done by one familiar with the history as it was being enacted. In the preparation of this history, the aim has been to supplement what has gone before and not to duplicate. An effort has been made to write as accurate a history as possible of the institutional development of the county. In the preparation of the work, much use has been made of the results of local historical investigation conducted under the direction of the History Department of Earlham College. The data thus obtained is perhaps as accurate as is possible to obtain for it has all been secured after a careful collection of facts from a variety of sources. Valuable data has also been secured from the collection of the Wayne County Historical Society.

Special mention should be made of materials obtained from the Senior theses of graduates in history from Earlham College, as follows: "The Whitewater Canal," Harry D. Michael; "County Seat History of Wayne County," Otis M. Elliott; "Newport During Anti-Slavery Times," E. Anna Bailey; "Wayne County's Financial Institutions," Paul Lewis; "George W. Julian," Margaret Sedgewick; "Wayne County Journalism," Ethel Henderson; Biographical outlines of persons prominent in the literary history of Wayne county, Ada Woodward; "Wayne County's Contributions to Scientific Literature," Emmajean Smith; "Early Education in Wayne County," Eva Thurston; "History of Richmond Schools," Elsie M. Marshall; "History of Earlham College," Harlow Lindley; "Social History of Wayne County," Ray K. Shiveley; "The Wayne County Bar," Robert L. Study; and "History of Richmond Clubs," Lucile K. Mayr.

MEMOIRS OF WAYNE COUNTY

CHAPTER I.

THE MAKING OF INDIANA.*

FRENCH TRADERS—ENGLISH CLAIMS—CLARK'S CAMPAIGN—VIRGINIA'S CLAIMS—ORDINANCES OF 1784 AND 1787—INDIAN WAR—INCREASE IN POPULATION—SLAVERY AGITATION—TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT—ADMISSION TO THE UNION—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Little is known of North America before its discovery in 1492, but we know that in prehistoric times some human beings are supposed to have inhabited the central part of what is now the United States. The only evidences we have are the mounds found along the streams and in fertile places. These early inhabitants are called the Mound Builders. The first inhabitants of whom we know anything definite were Indians.

In the beginning of the Sixteenth century, after the discovery of the continent, some Jesuit missionaries explored the territory around the lakes, and a little later French traders came down from Canada and established a few trading posts along the Ohio river and smaller rivers in Indiana and Illinois. These posts began to grow, and in a few years French settlers came to the posts, forming small villages, and the French then laid claim to the country. Trade, chiefly in furs, was carried on for several years. More French settlers came and more villages were formed. The king wanted to form a line of forts along the Maumee and Wabash rivers and on down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Three of these forts were in Indiana, of which Vincennes was the most important. Thus they were actually occupying the country a half century before the English had even explored it.

*From "Lindley, the Government of Indiana," with the consent of the publishers, Ginn & Co.

About the middle of the Eighteenth century the English, who already had colonies on the Atlantic coast, entered the territory, intending to make trade points and settlements. Thus both France and England claimed the territory. Immediately disputes arose, which ended in skirmishes, and the English secured possession of the territory at the close of the French and Indian War, in 1763, when, by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the French claims east of the Mississippi river were transferred to England and the government was administered by English military officers. They did little to colonize it. They were opposed to the colonists of the Atlantic coast emigrating across the mountains just because they were afraid the colonists would get to be too strong and powerful for English subjects. They wanted to use it for trading. But this was only an incentive to the colonists, and they began settling it immediately. The three French settlements in Indiana—Fort Wayne, Vincennes, and Ouiatanon—after the French officers had abandoned them, were points where the colonists settled in small numbers at first.

In 1772 General Gage sent out a proclamation commanding all persons who had settled west of the Alleghany Mountains to leave the country and settle in the English colonies to the east. This meant the French settlers also. These settlers had lived in the territory several years and they claimed that the land had been given to them by the French king. Gage went to England to get the king's sanction, but England was just on the border of the Revolutionary war with the colonists and the king wanted to be friendly with the French settlers so that he might have France on his side. He gave the settlers back their old laws and privileges and thus made them friendly to him. They had little to do with the war in the East, but together with the Indians they made life miserable for the few colonial settlers who had settled in the territory.

Toward the close of the Revolutionary war, George Rogers Clark, acting under a commission of Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, appeared in 1778 from across the mountains and changed the whole history of the territory. Clark was called "the Hannibal of the West." He soon saw how the British were imposing upon the French and Indians and how in turn the French, and especially the Indians, were mistreating the Virginia settlers in Kentucky. He petitioned the Virginia legislature for troops, and after some trouble and much perseverance he finally obtained a few hundred men and some supplies and went across the mountains to conquer

the West, for he saw that that was the only way the Americans could have any peace. Then followed his campaign in the "Illinois country," in which he gained Vincennes and Kaskaskia, succeeded in winning the friendship of the French and most of the Indian tribes, and made it possible for the American colonists to settle there permanently, thus securing for Virginia a further claim upon the territory northwest of the Ohio river, as a part had been originally claimed under her colonial charter.

At the end of the Revolutionary war, in the Treaty of Paris, England was compelled to give up her claim to the territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi river to the colonies. The territory north of the Ohio river, called "Illinois," together with Kentucky were recognized as counties of Virginia by the Virginia legislature.

Besides Virginia, the New England colonies and New York held claims to the Northwest Territory. According to their charters, each had a rightful claim, but Virginia considered her claim the most stable on account of Clark's conquests. The colonies were deeply in debt, and this might be lessened by the sale of lands from the western territory. They had been united in war and all had claims to the Territory. After much discussion and persuasion from Congress the colonies all donated their claims to Congress, and the western territory became public domain (Boynton, 81). In 1783 the Virginia legislature passed an act empowering her delegates in Congress to make a deed ceding the territory northwest of the Ohio river to the United States, and Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York soon after surrendered their claim to the northern part of this territory. Congress had suggested that it be "disposed of for the common benefit and it be formed into distinct republican states, which shall become members of the federal union" (Boynton, 292). This acquisition of territory was effective in helping to preserve the union of the colonies.

In 1784 Congress passed an ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, but it was practically inoperative, as no new settlements were made under its provision. It provided for the formation of new States to have republican governments and be admitted into the confederation. This was Thomas Jefferson's plan. A New England land and emigration company, called the Ohio Company, attempted to colonize the western territory. Before ceding the lands to the public many of the colonies had given grants to their soldiers to pay for

services in the war with England.' On this account the settlers of New England would not emigrate without special guarantees of civil rights to the lands where they settled. The company urged Congress to take some action to secure the lands to the settlers, so Congress passed the Ordinance of 1787, which superseded the Ordinance of 1784.

The Ordinance of 1787 (Boynton, 176) applied to the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, providing for the formation, in time, of from three to five States. At first Congress was to appoint the governor, judges, and military officers of the new Territory. The governor and judges were to have legislative powers, subject to the veto of Congress. As soon as the population reached 5,000 free males, the inhabitants were to elect delegates who would form a house of representatives. This, with a governor and council* appointed by Congress, was to form the Territorial assembly. The assembly had full legislative power, which was to comply with the propositions of the Ordinance. It could appoint a delegate to Congress, but he could not vote there. When the population reached 60,000 the territory was to be admitted to the Confederation on an equal basis with the thirteen original States.

The settlers were guaranteed civil rights, such as *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, and bail. Education was encouraged, and here was begun the liberal educational policy which has, in a large degree, contributed to the intelligence, morality, and prosperity of the Northwest and the fruits of which we see in Indiana's present excellent school system. Other important provisions were the equal distribution of the property of persons dying intestate, the prohibition of molesting any one on account of his religion, and the forbidding of slavery "absolutely and forever," except as a punishment for crime. The Ordinance of 1787 is considered as one of the greatest state papers in American history, and we cannot fully understand and appreciate Indiana's later constitutional history without having a knowledge of this ordinance, the wise provisions of which have had such a great influence on Indiana's governmental affairs.

In 1789 the first Congress under the present Constitution of the United States recognized the binding force of this Ordinance and provided for carrying its provisions into effect. This was the first provision for government ever really exercised over the territory of which Indiana is a part, after it became a part of the United States.

*This council consisted of five men selected from a list of ten submitted by the Territorial house of representatives.

Arthur St. Clair was elected governor of the Territory in October, 1787, and three judges were appointed; also necessary laws were made in accordance with the Ordinance.

There were many things which made the settling of the Territory slow. The English in Canada were encouraging the Indian tribes all the while to make all the trouble they could for the settlers, and the Indians did a great deal of their own accord. Besides, there were many French settlers, especially in Indiana and Illinois. The majority of the New England settlers were in Ohio, although there were quite a number in the western part of the Territory. The French had been given large grants of land, but they were not ambitious enough to cultivate it, so they sold it to the settlers for as low as fifty cents an acre. They preferred living in poverty and spending most of their time in dancing and debauchery.

The Indians brought things to a head by making an attack on the settlers, resulting in a war which lasted five years. The Indians were in the main successful until General Wayne met an army at the rapids and defeated them in August, 1794. A fort was garrisoned not far away and was called Fort Wayne, on the site of which stands the city of the same name. Congress saw that something must be done after such an uprising among the Indians, so in 1794 John Jay went to London to negotiate a treaty with England. It took him most of that year, but he accomplished his purpose. The treaty provided that the king should withdraw all his troops from posts within the United States before June, 1796. When the Indians found that their backing was gone Wayne had no trouble in exacting a treaty, whereby the United States secured most of the important locations.

The population now began to increase rapidly. Settlers could come and buy land and be sure of owning it, for the Indians gave up all claim to it. Indiana had not been settled very rapidly. The most of the settlers were in Clark's grant* and in the southeast corner of the State. The government was loose. The French and Americans were so widely different that it was hard to establish a government. Both suffered many privations after the Indian wars, for their crops had been spoiled. The Ohio settlers, however, sent them food.

St. Clair and the judges devoted themselves to making some

*One hundred and fifty thousand acres were granted to George Rogers Clark by Virginia, as compensation for his military services in the Northwest Territory in behalf of the State.

laws, and in May, 1795, they drew up an elaborate code, called the Maxwell Code, but it was never of much use.

In 1798, when it was decided that the population was sufficient, twenty two representatives were chosen for delegates to a general assembly, of which number Indiana had one. President Adams chose five for a council, among whom was Vanderburg, of Vincennes, who was made president.

The Territorial house was organized Sept. 23, 1799, and on Oct. 3 Harrison was elected delegate to Congress by a majority of one over Arthur St. Clair.

In 1800 the Northwest Territory was divided by an act of Congress. All the territory east of a line which now very nearly corresponds to Indiana's eastern boundary was constituted the Northwest Territory, and all lying west of this line was named Indiana Territory, and its government was continued at Vincennes as the capital.

At this Congress Harrison also secured the passage of an Act which made him popular the rest of his life. According to law the western lands had been sold in tracts of not less than 4,000 acres, so only land companies could buy. Now Harrison secured an act which stipulated that the land should be sold in sections and half sections. He was chairman of the committee appointed to discuss the plan—the first Territorial delegate to be chairman of a committee.

During the time Indiana was a part of the Northwest Territory there were attempts to change the slavery clause in the Ordinance of 1787, but all failed. Slaveholders in the South couldn't very well sell all their slaves and go North and support themselves, nor could they take their slaves, so they had to stay in the South.

The government of Indiana Territory began July 4, 1800, with Harrison as governor, John Gibson as secretary, and three judges. During the next four years attempts were made to change the slavery article of the Ordinance. The chief one was gotten up in 1802-03. The French were especially in favor of striking out the article. Harrison was persuaded to call a convention of representatives. The most able men of the Territory assembled and drew up a petition which they sent to Congress with a letter from Harrison approving the petition, asking that the Sixth article be set aside for ten years, and stating that the petition would be void after 1805. A letter was also sent from the people asking for the re-election of Harrison as governor. The petition was not definitely acted on before 1805, so it amounted to nothing.

Harrison was a very able man. The fact that he was a Republican and that a majority of the population were Federalists, pro-slavery, and very anxious that the government be raised to second grade, gave him a problem to solve which he dexterously handled. He knew that second-grade government would be the road to slavery, so he wrote a letter to a "friend" explaining why he was opposed to it. The letter got into the newspapers and won the people completely to his side. His chief argument was that it would necessarily add great expense.

In 1803, when Louisiana was purchased (Boynton, 259), Congress provided that the officers who governed Indiana Territory should also govern Louisiana, but not, of course, with the same laws. But Louisiana objected to the plan, and a year later the citizens met at St. Louis, since most of them lived in this part of the Territory, and sent a petition to Congress for separate officers, which was granted.

In 1805 Indiana Territory reached the stage of second-grade government. The people wanted it. They could then have representative government and also have a delegate in Congress.

In 1805 the Territory of Michigan, on the north, was established, and in 1809 the original territory was further divided by the establishment of Illinois on the west, leaving Indiana Territory with nearly the same boundaries as those of the present State.

On March 11, 1813, the legislature passed an act removing the seat of government to Corydon, in Harrison county.

In 1815 the legislature sent a petition to Congress asking for an enabling act. They had thirteen counties and a male population of 63,897. They added this clause: "And whereas the inhabitants of this Territory are principally composed of emigrants from every part of the Union, and as various in their customs and sentiments as in their persons, we think it prudent at this time to express to the General Government our attachment to the fundamental principles of legislation prescribed by Congress in the Ordinance for the government of this Territory, particularly as respects freedom and involuntary servitude, and hope they may be continued as the basis of the Constitution."

Congress passed a bill, April 19, 1816, making a law in accordance with the petition to make Indiana a State. The act provided for the election of forty-three delegates to meet in convention and decide whether to form a State government, and if so, they had the power to form a constitution themselves or provide for an election of representatives who should form a constitution. Their

work would stand as they left it, provided it was republican and in accordance with the Ordinance of 1787.

The convention met at Corydon, June 10, 1816. It was hardly composed of great men, but they were good, honest men. Jonathan Jennings was elected president and William Hendricks secretary. The first day it was moved that a constitution should be formed, and there was a motion to proceed to its formation on the next day. The vote was taken the following day and only eight members were opposed to proceeding to make a constitution. Committees were appointed to prepare the various parts of the document, which took the first week.

The article on amendments to the constitution stated that it might be revised at intervals of twelve years by a majority vote of the people, but as to the article on slavery no alteration should ever take place. Slavery and involuntary servitude were absolutely forbidden (practically the words of the ordinance were used). The constitution was completed June 29, 1816, and unanimously adopted by the members of the convention, and the State was admitted to the Union Dec. 11, 1816.

As has been said, many of the settlers were from the New England States, but there were people from all the colonies. This laid a foundation for a strong State, for honest, industrious men had come from various points with various ideas and abilities.

The capital remained at Corydon until 1824, when it was removed to Indianapolis. The constitution of the State made at Corydon in 1816 remained as the fundamental law of the State without amendment until 1851, when the one under which the State is now governed was made by a State convention which met at Indianapolis.

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HARLOW LINDLEY.

CHAPTER II.

PIONEER LIFE A CENTURY AGO.

REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH—IMMIGRATION—CLOTHING OF THE PIONEERS—EARLY HABITATIONS—FARMING TOOLS—THE WHIPSAW—DYEING OF CLOTH—THE ROPE WALK—AMUSEMENTS OF THE PIONEERS.

(By Harlow Lindley.)

The close of the Revolutionary war marked an epoch in the country's onward march to the great destiny laid out for it. When the excitement attending these momentous events had, in a measure, subsided, there were hundreds of old heroes who found themselves without any property or occupation and no prospect of bettering their conditions. There was no money but the worthless Continental Scrip. Many of these old heroes were maimed for life and still more were broken down by disease. Most of them were unable to do anything and could but remain in the section of their former homes. But the strong and hardy ones, by hundreds, determined to better their condition, if possible. The fame of Daniel Boone and other frontiersmen was known to them, and glowing descriptions of the rich country west of the mountains and north of the Ohio river were told by hunters and trappers and by the returning soldiers, who, under the leadership of George Rogers Clark, had saved to the weak, young republic the princely heritage of the Northwest Territory. There was a great uprising of the people nearest the much-talked-of country west of the mountains and they started in every conceivable manner—some on horseback, some in two-wheeled carts, and a large number on foot. These were the forerunners of civilization who settled along the Ohio river. The pioneers met with a determined opposition from the Indians, but gradually, treaties were made whereby territory was made secure. The pioneers had been compelled to build strong forts in every section where they attempted to form settlements and spend much of their time within the walls of the stockades that surrounded the block houses. In many cases, they suffered for want of food, not daring to go into the forests for game. When the pioneers found that the Indians were gone, they would kill

buffalo, bear, deer and turkeys, storing away large quantities of the provisions in their block houses. These men had come with a determination to stay and make a home for themselves and families. They took every precaution for protection against the Indians and they endured the most trying privation to succeed.

Gradually, more people came, thus, making the settlement stronger, and soon, small tracts of land were cleared. Often one man was concealed and on the watch with his rifle, while another cleared a small field that was put in corn and vegetables, and this was cultivated in the best way possible. In 1800 Indiana Territory was organized by an act of Congress and this gave a further impetus to permanent settlement. Soon after the settlements began to push out from the Ohio river, and early in the century, one was established near where the city of Richmond now stands. The pioneers who first came to Indiana could not have remained any length of time had it not been for the game which was so abundant on every hand. They often had no other food than the bear, deer and turkey meat. They used various substitutes for bread—often roasting the white oak acorns and eating them with their meat. They would gather the seeds of the wild rice and wild barley, mixing them with the roasted acorns, pounding them all together and making ash cakes of the meal thus obtained. On such food as this, the old pioneers and their families subsisted until they could raise a patch of corn.

The clothing of the men and boys was in keeping with their daily life. Well dressed deer skins made comfortable and serviceable shirts, leggings and coats. Sometimes, the buffalo skins were sheared and the shaggy wool mixed with a small portion of the wild nettle fiber, which was carded and spun the same as sheep's wool.

In most cases the first settlers were young men who, with their wives, their axes and their rifles, and such other property as they possessed, came boldly into this then dense wilderness. They cut the logs for their cabins and covered it with boards made with their axes. Cracks between the logs were filled by wedging in pieces of timber and then filling with mud. A hole of the proper size was cut in the side for a door, and often the only door shutter was a bear skin. The floor and carpet were of mother earth. For a bedstead they might drive a fork into the ground far enough from the side and end of the cabin; then put a pole in the fork and into a crack between the logs and another pole the other way, thus making the end and side rails of the bedstead. This would

then be covered with fine brush and the skins of animals. Later on the beautiful blue figured coverlids, made by the good mothers in the South, began to make their appearance. The table was made in much the same way as the bed.

These brave people had few of the comforts of life, as we think of them, but they were rich in health, determination and pluck. With their axes they cleared the forests and with their rifles they obtained the choicest of meats and the skins of animals, which were soon exchanged for other necessities of life. The pioneer knew little and probably cared less for what was going on in the outside world. He had severed all connections with his old home and the outside world, bidding adieu to all the early associations. The main object in coming to this wild region was to secure free land for homes. Settling a new country is always attended with great hardships and privations, which none but the brave will endure. The spirit of adventure caused a few to come, but as a whole the people who were the pioneers of this State were from the very best families, intelligent, brave, hardy and honest, willing to endure the many trials and privations they were compelled to, to sustain themselves. They went to work to improve their surroundings—always on the outlook for dangers and the everlasting calm only broken by the croaking of the crows by day and the lonesome hoot of the owls by night. The early settlers, as a rule, married when they were young. There was no inequality in the way, for all were on the same level. If the young man was a good hunter and a good soldier if need be, those were all the requirements needed. The young woman was usually industrious and healthy and had learned from her mother the simple forms of housekeeping. After the wedding the first thing to do was to build a house, and after a favorable site had been selected, all the neighbors helped in cutting and hauling logs. And one who was given to idleness was looked upon with contempt. In fact there was no place for the idler.

Very early, schools were established. Although the terms were short and they were supported by private subscriptions, yet they gave the first principles of education.

The dress of these people was suitable for the life they had to lead. The women did not have as elaborate costumes as the men, but they dressed at all times to suit their work and the weather, providing they had the material with which to make their clothing. The linsey skirt was very common. They made shawls and blankets of flannel. It was often very difficult to secure the raw mate-

rial to make their clothing. Some efforts were made at raising cotton, and flax was raised with some difficulty.

In the pioneer days the early settlers had to depend upon their own resources for such farming tools as they needed. They made a very serviceable plow with a wooden moldboard, which was made of the best hard wood obtainable. They made a very serviceable harrow entirely of wood. The horse collars were made mostly of corn shucks plaited in large rope-like sections, and sewed together hard and fast with leather thongs. They also made collars of raw hide, cutting it in proper shape and sewing the edges together, stuffing it on the inside to make it hold its shape. The bridle was made of raw hide. Hames were made from the lower part of a tree, including a part of the root for the proper crook. A wagon that was termed a truck was made from cutting four large wheels from a large tree, usually a black gum. Oxen were the usual teams that were hitched to these crude but serviceable wagons. A heavy wooden yoke went on the oxen's neck. The pitch forks for all purposes on the farm were made of wood and wooden rakes were made of strong, seasoned wood. A spade was made of seasoned hickory.

Cooking utensils were few, as they were expensive, and it was with difficulty that they were moved across the mountains. Cooking stoves were few before 1820.

Among the early important industries of the State were the milling industry, the flax industry, and the loom and whip saw. As the country developed each well-ordered family had its flax brake, its scutching board, its hackle, its distaff, its wheels and its reel.

When the whipsaw was introduced and put to work, it was a great help to the new-comer in securing material to finish his log house more comfortably and in supplying lumber for out buildings. The whipsaw was a very simple affair. In shape it was much the same as the common crosscut saw of to-day. The teeth were so constructed and filed that it would cut the timber the long way—the log being placed on a scaffold. The process was a slow one, but as no one wanted a very large amount of lumber, two men could soon saw from the soft timber a sufficient amount for all needs.

The dyeing of cloth was also a very interesting home occupation. The walnut bark and the hulls of the walnut made a very serviceable brown. Maple bark, mixed with copperas, made a very dark color. Indigo and madder combined made a very pretty

blue. Still later logwood and many other kinds of dye were used up to the time when the clothing was purchased from the store. But these old days with the stained hands of our mothers have gone never to return.

No better illustration of the advance of civilization could be given than that shown in the development of agricultural and other implements. The wagon was made after the rudest fashion with the proverbial log chain looped around the front axle tree, the other end hooked on to the side of the wagon, so as to be ready for locking the hind wheel when going down steep hills. This was long before rub locks had been thought of. The wooden mold-board plows early gave way to cast iron ones. Often in the absence of a harrow, a lot of coarse brush was chained together and used to pulverize the clods and smooth the ground. Corn was dropped by hand and covered with hoes, and wheat was scattered over the ground a handful at a time. The sickle was the implement used in reaping the grain. This was later followed by the grain cradle, which made its appearance in this region about 1840. Their crops were protected by fences made of rails cut out of oak, ash, hickory, poplar and walnut timber. The splitting of large logs into rails required skill, great physical strength and endurance.

Another interesting implement was the "rope walk," an apparatus for making bed-cords, clothes lines, plow lines, halters, etc. A level piece of ground was selected about 200 feet long. A heavy slab was put in the ground at each end of the place selected about five feet in height and twelve inches broad. A two-inch augur hole was made in the center of each slab about ten inches from the bottom. Into these holes were put pins with a shoulder on the outside end and a key to hold them in place on the inside. To this pin a round wheel about eight inches broad was fastened with a pin for a handle, placed in the hole made for the purpose on the outside edge of the wheel. Along the walk about twenty feet apart smooth posts were set on each side about four feet from the center with a number of pegs driven on the side facing the walk. Along the center of the walk, every twenty-five or thirty-five feet, a slab was driven into the ground, standing about three feet high, with a notch cut in the top end and made perfectly smooth. A bunch of tow was fastened to the pin that the wheel was on, and the wheel was turned. One held the bunch of tow under his arm, using his hands to even the string as it was twisted, and as he passed the low post, put the cord in the notch on top of it, and when he had gone the length of the walk, he tied the string to the

end of the other wheel and turned it until the string was twisted as hard as wanted.

In the home the broad open fire place with the crane hanging against the back wall, the skillet, the oven, the longhandled frying pan and the reflector were familiar to the pioneer and they suggest to our minds the hot biscuits, the sweet pone, the corn dodger and the apple dumplings which we have heard so much about.

In a room not otherwise occupied or in an adjoining building stood the old-fashioned loom, on which the mother taught her daughter to weave carpet, linen and linsey. I suppose the loom occupied much the same place in the house of the pioneer that the piano does today, although the spinning wheel probably made more music.

Pioneer life carried with it its own amusements and sports. Many of the games used by the early settlers were copied from the Indian.

The following description of pioneer times was given by Mrs. Rebecca Julian, of Centerville, in 1854, and is of interest because it is first hand, given by an eye witness:

"There were many serious trials in the beginning of this country with those who settled amid the heavy timber, having nothing to depend upon but their own industry. Such was our situation. However, we were blessed with health and strength and were enabled to accomplish all that was to be done. Our husbands cleared the ground and assisted each other in rolling the logs. We often went with them on these occasions to assist in cooking for the hands. We had firstrate times—just as hard laboring men and women can appreciate. We were not what would now be called fashionable cooks. We had no pound cakes, preserves nor jellies, but the substantials prepared were in plain, honest, old-fashioned style. This is one reason why we were so blessed in health. We had none of your dainties—knicknacks and many fixings that are worse than nothing. There are many diseases now that were not heard of thirty or forty years ago. It was not fashionable at that time to be weakly. We could take our spinning wheels and walk two miles to a spinning frolic, do our day's work and, after a first-rate supper, join in some interesting amusement for the evening. We did not take particular pains to keep our hands white. We knew they were made to use to our advantage, therefore, we never thought of having hands just to look at. An early settler had to go and assist his neighbor ten or fifteen days or thereabout in order

to get help again in log rolling. This was the only way to get assistance in return."

While the women were thus enjoying social life at a spinning frolic, the men might have been enjoying all the pleasures of a corn husking. Then the corn heap being equally divided and a captain and the men on each side selected, the party who first finished their portion of the heap carried their captain in triumph on their shoulders into the ranks of the opposition. And then there was the sewing match or quilting party in which the women participated during the day, and after their day's work was finished, their husbands and the neighboring young men joined them at the house and spent the evening in playing games or dancing an old-fashioned reel.

Witchcraft was not unknown in the early history of Indiana and one of our Territorial laws dealt with the crime of dueling. By 1816, when Indiana was admitted into the Union as a State, the population did not exceed probably about 70,000, but the tide of immigration had set in, so that by 1820, the population amounted to almost 150,000. The inhabitants of the new State began to open new farms, to found new settlements, to plant new orchards, to erect school-houses and churches, to build hamlets and towns and to engage, with some degree of ardor, in various peaceful pursuits of civilized life. A sense of security pervaded the minds of the people—the hostile Indian tribes, having been overpowered, humbled and impoverished, no longer incited the fears of the pioneer settlers who dwelt in safety in their plain log cabins and cultivated their fields without the protection of armed sentinels. The numerous temporary forts and block houses which were no longer required as places of refuge for the pioneers were either converted into dwelling houses or suffered to fall into ruins.

The State was in its infancy; its resources were undeveloped; its citizens were not wealthy, but the seed had been sown which was to ripen into a great industrial State which became a refuge for members of all the leading religious organizations and which, by both public and private acts, has developed one of the leading educational systems of the world.

CHAPTER III.

GEOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

TOPOGRAPHY—GEOLOGY—HUDSON RIVER GROUP—ANTIQUITIES—OBSERVATION OF PREHISTORIC EARTHWORKS.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The characteristic topographical feature of the county is that of an elevated campaign, or table-land, which gradually slopes from the northern boundary of the county to the southwest. The general elevation of the north part may be stated as 1,200 feet above mean ocean tide, and that of the southern part of the county at 900 feet.

This plateau is cut through by innumerable rivulets and larger streams that have their sources in the north part of the county, and flow to the southwest, and finally fall into the White Water river. The eroding effects of these streams are not so marked in the north, where they carry but a small volume of water, as we find in the south; there they run through broad shallow valleys that are not cut below the tough boulder clays of the drift, but in the south part of the county the erosion has, in some places, been carried far down into the beds of the Hudson river group of rocks. At the city of Richmond this phenomenon is so marked that we may, with propriety, speak of the eroded bed of White Water river as a veritable canon. The banks here are composed of 100 to 110 feet of Hudson river rocks, that in places form almost vertical mural shores to the stream. The Panhandle railroad bridge spans this stream across a narrow part of its canon. Along the principal water courses there, this plateau is interrupted by deep erosions, which terminate very rapidly as you recede from the streams, and the country opens into beautiful level tracts. A glance at the map will show that this county is well supplied with streams of living water. The west branch of White Water river, with its principal tributaries—Nettle Fork, Martindale's Fork, Green's

Fork and Noland's Fork—spread out over at least two-thirds of the county, and the balance is watered by White Water river and its tributaries—Elkhorn creek, Short creek, East Fork, Middle Fork, West Fork, Lick creek—and numerous smaller branches that have only local names. The large area of level lands, covered with a grand forest which includes every variety of timber that grows in this latitude, and the numerous streams of clear running water, must have proved an attractive sight to the early immigrants, and the rapid growth of the county in population and wealth has given proof that no part of the country afforded a truer prospect for happy homes.

GEOLOGY.

The oldest stratified rocks in this county belong to the Hudson river group of Prof. James Hall. The name was first applied to the rocks of the Lower Silurian age that crop on the Hudson river at New York. The name was subsequently changed by Meek and Worthen to that of Cincinnati group. This group of rocks has also been called the Nashville group by Professor Safford in his report on the Geology of Tennessee. At Cincinnati and at Nashville there are extensive crops of these rocks, and hence the desire to apply to them local names. Now, if the relative strata were found nowhere else we might tolerate these new names, but it so happens that they exist in various parts of the United States and cover large areas of its surface, and to multiply names is simply adding confusion to the nomenclature. The Hudson river beds are seen in the southern part of the county, where they have been exposed by the removal of the Niagara beds and the surface drift.

As we approach Richmond the Niagara is absent, and was probably removed by erosion, which must have taken place on a large scale at this part of White Water valley. There are then no other exposures of this formation along the line of the section until we reach the valley of Martindale's creek at Germantown, and the valley of west branch of White Water river at Cambridge City. The difference in elevation of the Niagara at the State line and where it is seen at Cambridge City is about sixty feet, and the distance is about twenty miles. If the section, then, was in the line of greatest dip, it would only be at the rate of three feet to the mile.

Jackson's Hill, on the divide between Noland's Fork and Green's Fork is 1,051 feet above the ocean; and the hill at Ceda

Springs, at the eastern end of the section, is 1,086 feet. These numbers agree so closely that one is led to conclude that at one period of the Glacial epoch the country between these two points was almost a level plain, and the intervening gaps have been eroded by the vast volume of water which flowed from the glaciers' southern border as it gradually retreated to the north. There are great numbers of large erratic boulders on the top of Cedar Spring hill, and on the dividing ridge of which Jackson's Hill is a part.

At the Falls of Elkhorn creek, four miles nearly south of Richmond and southwest of the Niagara crops, on the east fork of White Water, there is a crop of buff-colored magnesian limestone overlying the Hudson river rocks, and from the falls of that stream. It is from twenty to twenty-five feet thick, and has been variously referred to the Clinton and Niagara.

The upper part of the Niagara is grayish-colored magnesian limestone, very coarse-grained, and contains a few fossils.

The lower part of this formation is a buff-colored, coarse-grained magnesian rock, that contains very few fossils of any kind. These magnesian beds are hard weathering, and rest upon soft, shaly beds of Lower Silurian, which are most easily eroded and carried away. At the Elkhorn Mills they form a vertical wall across the creek, over which the water falls some twenty-five feet, and has cut away a portion of the underlying Hudson river shales. These falls have in time been cut back a half mile or more, or from a point down the stream where the Niagara first makes an appearance. Where this magnesian rock terminates lower down the stream it maintains its full thickness, and there is reason to believe that the absence beyond that point to the westward is due to glacial abrasion.

The most abundant fossils in the Niagara at this locality is a Brachiopod mollusc—*Pentamerus oblongus*. These fossils are so abundant that in some of the layers they lie packed upon top of one another, and constitute almost the entire substance of the stone, and have the same chemical composition.

A little to the southeast of the above crop of the Niagara we have at nearly the same elevation another crop of these beds that give rise to the falls of the west fork of White Water river. It is here, also, a buff magnesian limestone, about ten feet thick, and forms a complete mural cliff across the stream, over which the water falls a distance of ten feet or more. The surface above the falls is scratched and grooved by glaciation. Some of these grooves are deep and long.

To the south of Cambridge City about two miles, and on Simon's creek, the Niagara appears only a few inches thick, and rests immediately upon thin layers of Hudson river limestone.

HUDSON RIVER GROUP.

The rocks belonging to this group lie immediately under the Niagara, since we are not able to establish the presence of the Clinton, which in regular sequence forms the intervening strata.

The Hudson river group is well expressed in this county on the three forks of White Water river near Richmond, and from thence southward along the main stream and its tributaries to Abington, in Abington township.

The Hudson river rocks are also seen in considerable force along the east, middle and west forks of White Water river, for short distances above their embouchure. On these streams the bluish, argo-carcarious shale, which underlies the Niagara where the succession is seen in this county, is here from thirty to forty feet thick, and the layers at the water's edge are thickly studded with fragments of fossils *megistos, Acidaspis cincinnatiensis, Ceraurus sp.*

The following are among the best localities for collecting Hudson river fossils: At Richmond, on the banks of White Water and its branches, and on both banks of the main stream to the southern limits of the county. From the falls of Elkhorn to its mouth. The banks of this stream present a number of admirable exposures, where the fossil contents of the rocks are weathered out and in an excellent state of preservation. The same may be said of the banks of Bush creek, near its mouth.

The close proximity of these admirable localities for collecting fossils, to the city of Richmond, has enlisted the attention of a number of its citizens, and no place of its size in the West can boast of more students of palaeontology or exhibit a greater number of fine cabinets or fossils and other objects of natural history.

Nowhere in the State are the effects of glaciation more apparent than in Wayne county. The north part of the county borders on the very highest land in the State. The water shed of all the streams that flow into the Wabash on the south, as well as White Water and its tributaries, take their rise from an elevated table-land which occupies a portion of Jay, Randolph and Wayne counties, and probably reaches its greatest elevation within the borders of Ohio. But the entire region where these waters start and flow

to the north, west, south and east is so level that one is puzzled to point out any one spot that should be called the comb of the divide. Indeed, it is probable that these streams were the outlets of a shallow lake or basin, which has been filled up with sediment. From this divide glaciers poured their frigid streams in several directions. One of the principal found its way to the south, and was instrumental in forming at least a portion of the channel of the West and Middle forks and that of White Water river. Indeed, large granite boulders are found on all parts of the tableland of Wayne county, but they are particularly numerous along the shores of the West Fork, just above the falls. The upper surface of the Niagara rocks which form these falls are distinctly scratched and grooved, and the lateral moraines are well defined. The bearing of these grooves is nearly north and south. At Richmond there appears to have been the coalescence of two or more streams, which were instrumental in cutting out the canon through which White Water river flows. The soft and easily weathering shales and bands of stone that form the shores of the river have caused the glacial marks to be obliterated, but the large boulders which still lie along the bluffs, or fallen to the stream by the undermining which has been going on, leave abundant evidence to justify the above conclusion. Large and small boulders are seen on all the high ridges that mark the boundaries of the streams.

At Jackson's Hill, eight miles to the west of Richmond, the drift is 140 feet thick. On the top there is a number of large boulders, and beneath this we have the usual alternations of clay, sand and gravel, and blue boulder clay. Jackson's Hill is on the divide between the waters of Green's Fork and Noland's Fork. On the divide between these streams and White Water river, the drift is ninety feet thick, and in places the large boulders are quite abundant on the surface. In the city of Richmond, the drift is only locally represented, and the greatest depth will not exceed twenty feet.

The drift has been of very great use in this county in supplying an endless quantity of gravel suitable for making gravel turnpikes. And probably no county in the State contains so many of these admirable channels of commerce.

In 1851, when making a cut through the divide, between Noland's Fork and Green's Fork, for the Richmond & Logansport division of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis railroad, at the depth of about twenty-one feet in the middle of the cut, the work-

men struck upon what seemed to them a solid pavement of boulders. The upper part of each boulder appeared neatly dressed on the surface, as though done by the hand of a skilled workman. This pavement extended nearly the entire length of the cut, though towards the ends it was considerably broken up, and finally gave out entirely. It was very thick near the center of the cut, and appeared to dip toward the east, but as the grade of the railroad was forty feet to the mile in the opposite direction, this may not be the correct dip. The width of this pavement of boulders must be considerable, since at the distance of half or three-quarters of a mile on the north side four wells had been dug, and in three, at about the same depth beneath the surface, a layer of scratched boulders was encountered. The whole deposit of boulders is in a matrix of hard, blue clay—"hard pan." On the face of these boulders are a number of parallel scratches, the direction being nearly north and south. Many of the boulders are of large size, and nearly all are a bluish colored, crystalline rock, susceptible of receiving a fine polish. One of these boulders measured two feet in diameter and eighteen inches thick, and was as round as a grindstone.

Scratches, or rather fine parallel *striae*, bearing north a little east, and south a little west, are also seen in the bed of Noland's Fork, near Centerville, and on rocks of Hudson river age. The face of the rocks are ground down to a level, and the *striae* are plainly visible. Indeed, everything leads to the conclusion that the glaciation was carried on in great force in this part of the State.

ANTIQUITIES.

The high tablelands of this county, and its deep canon-like river valleys, afforded the Mound Builders favorable sites for their settlements, and we constantly find the remains of a number of large and interesting earthworks and a great many mounds scattered along the bluffs of the streams.

OBSERVATION OF PRE-HISTORIC EARTHWORKS.

The surface of Wayne county presents many evidences of occupancy by the Mound Builders. Mounds are found in all parts of this county—situated on the uplands and along the courses of the streams. The plowshare has leveled many, and some have been removed in opening roads or the material used in making

brick. Twenty-five mounds have been located on a map of the county prepared in connection with the geological report.

The works in this county seem to be a continuation southward from the works along White river in Randolph county, and follow the branches of the White Water. Perhaps when all the works located in this part of the Ohio valley are mapped, some systematic arrangement may be discovered.

Three miles north from Fountain City (formerly called Newport), on a rise overlooking the wooded valley of Noland's Fork, is a mound seventy-five feet in diameter (section 19, township 18, range 15 east).

Another is on the farm of Daniel Hough, adjoining Fountain City. A third is said to have been removed in making the principal street of that town.

One mile northeast from Fountain City, on level ground, between Noland's Fork and a small tributary—Buck Run—is an embankment enclosing eleven acres. The figure of this earthwork is a square with curved corners. The length of the inside of the embankment is 780 feet. The embankment has been plowed over for years, yet can be plainly traced. A gateway is discernible on the west side, and hollows are found in the vicinity, which some suppose were made by the builders when collecting material for the embankment. A more careful survey has discovered the fact that the direction of the embankment is not due north and south, but at an angle, with the west side nearly parallel with the road.

A large mound stood two miles north from Chester (section 4, township 14, range 1 west). The greater part was removed in making the Arba road. A copper ring was found therein, and is now in the collection at Earlham College.

Several mounds are situated in the neighborhood of Middleboro. Some have been opened, but no contents worthy of notice have been obtained.

One mile north from Richmond, on the Hoover farm, and in that vicinity, several small mounds were located. In one, when removed, was found a copper ornament.

A mound near Earlham College was opened by President Moore, and the usual contents of mounds found—pieces of pottery, ashes and other evidences of fire.

On the J. C. Ratliff farm a mound was opened, and some small articles, which were at first supposed to be beads, but are now thought to be parched corn, found therein.

A large mound south from the town of Centerville was deemed

of sufficient note to be marked upon an early map of the State, but has since been destroyed.

In the southwestern part of Boston township is a mound hidden away in a "hollow"; and one formerly stood south from Richmond near the Boston pike.

Traces of a mound are to be seen on the farm of James W. Martindale, adjoining Green's Fork. This mound was opened in early times, and charcoal found near the original surface of the ground. A great quantity of arrow heads have been found around a spring (long since dry) near this mound.

A circular embankment was found near Green's Fork, east from Jacksonburg, twenty-five feet in diameter. It was long since plowed down.

Two mounds are to be seen a short distance northwest of Jacksonburg.

Overlooking Martindale's creek in Jefferson township (section 18, township 17 north, range 13 east) is a mound. Also two in the bottom land along West river, at Hagerstown.

Two miles southeast from Milton (section 6, township 15, range 13 east) is a beautiful mound, fifteen feet in diameter. Forest trees are still standing upon it; also stumps measuring two feet across.

Near the county line, about one mile north of Waterloo, Fayette county, is a mound upon high ground, and about a mile to the southeast, in Fayette county, is a curiously shaped work.

The most notable mounds in Wayne county are located on the left bank of the west branch of White Water river, one and a quarter miles north from Cambridge City. They consist of a series of circular embankments, continued over a half a mile of ground. The south circle is in the best state of preservation. The embankment was made of the earth taken from the trench which is on the inside of the embankment. Within, the ground has been made to slope gently from the center to the bottom of the trench, except to the east, where there was left a roadway leading from the center through a gateway in the embankment to the level ground beyond. The embankment is four feet above the surface of the field, and seven feet above the bottom of the trench, and wide enough on the top to allow two carriages to pass each other. The gateway is one rod wide. This circle is made of gravelly soil, while the north circle is composed of a loam, and has yielded more to the destroying influence of plowing. It is not as symmetrical as the other, being more oval in outline. These two circles are

about fifteen rods apart and about the same distance from the bluff of the stream. In the bluff, equally distant from both the circles, is a passage way cut from the top of the bluff to low ground bordering the water, some twelve feet below. This cut is evidently not a water wash, for along the sides can be seen the earth which was removed in making it, thrown up as dirt is thrown up along the sides of a ditch. The bluff here spoken of is the edge of the first terrace. The rounded margin of the second terrace can be seen a quarter of a mile to the east. Several hundred feet north from the second of the above described circles is a group of five small circles. With one exception these are about sixty feet in diameter, and are now from one to two feet high. The embankment of the largest work in this group can not be traced on the south, that part being in a field which has long been cultivated. Trees of large size were, until recently, standing upon the embankments of these works.

Burial places and remains have been found in various localities within the county. A number of years ago, in removing the gravel from a bank in the northwest part of Jefferson township, nine feet below the surface, eight skeletons were discovered. They had been buried in an upright position. These bones were gathered together by the workmen and reburied in a common grave.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY HISTORY OF WAYNE COUNTY.

SETTLED BY QUAKERS—DISCOVERY OF WHITE WATER VALLEY—FRIENDS' MEETINGS—EARLY TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS—BUILDING OF CANALS—FIRST RAILROAD—LOCATION OF COUNTY SEAT—EARLY GROWTH OF CENTERVILLE—THE WHITE WATER SETTLEMENT OF FRIENDS.

Wayne county was born in the early dawn of the last century and settled by a people whose love of peace and the principles of arbitration was only equaled by their aversion to war and human slavery, *i. e.*, by so-called Quakers—members of the religious Society of Friends. The name of the county, however, was chosen in honor of that fearless and desperate Indian fighter, known in history as General Wayne, but then famous as "Mad Anthony," who had so recently succeeded General St. Clair in command of the United States forces and precipitated the decisive battles which resulted in the Greenville Treaty.

The articles of peace were signed by General Wayne and the Indians of the Northwest Territory, Aug. 3, 1795. Indiana Territory was created pursuant to the act of Congress of May 7, 1800, dividing the Northwest Territory, and Wayne county was formed in 1810 from part of Dearborn, the county seat of which was at Lawrenceburg. It, with Clark and Knox, then constituted the single trio of counties in the Territory.

The discovery of the White Water valley has been credited to Judge Peter Fleming, and Joseph Wasson—a Revolutionary soldier who accompanied the former from Kentucky—in 1804, and the first settlement in the valley was made in 1805 by George Holman, Richard Rue, and Thomas McCoy. The "John the Baptist" of the Quakers—the leader of the van of North Carolinians who constituted the "Whitewater settlement of Friends"—was the late Judge David Hoover, who made his advent in the new Canaan in 1806. He had blazed his way through the primeval forest, seeking a home for his father, Andrew Hoover, who was a leader among

the Friends of the old North State, with whom the spirit of emigration was already rife, owing to their aversion to the encroachment of slavery; and when he reported the discovery of the "promised land," detailing its advantages for a prospective agricultural community, the tide of immigration began. Following the Hoovers, came Jeremiah Cox and the ever-present, indispensable John Smith, without whom no community is complete, who, albeit with second choice, selected their lands more luckily than the Hoovers, and of course more wisely than even they knew, for on their respective farms the principal part of Richmond, the metropolis of the county, was subsequently built. However, to Judge Hoover, who was in a marked degree a leader in the settlement, and, in the capacity of a surveyor, laid out "Richmond as a hamlet," was vouchsafed the happy privilege, if not distinguished honor, of naming the infant metropolis, whereas Cox regarded this good luck as a misfortune. He was so adverse to seeing the town encroach upon his lands that he declared he "would rather see a buck's tail than a tavern sign," yet he reluctantly gave way to the march of improvement.

From this inception, the White Water settlement began to spread her borders with remarkable strides. That tide of Carolinians, from "Bread's Hatter Shop," "Dobson's Cross Roads," "Guilford County, near Clemens's store," and the "Deep River Settlement of Friends," was soon swollen into a regular flood of immigrants, and they were exclusively of that sturdy, industrious class of frugal people that was necessarily required to make the wilderness "blossom as the rose." It was seemingly an insurmountable task to clear the lands of their dense forests, but that done, they were possessed of a virgin soil that needed only to be tickled with a hoe to be made to laugh with a harvest. Hence, prosperity was their sure reward for well doing, and most of them lived to enjoy the fruits of their early labors in the winter of their lives, with a posterity that honored them. They planted good seed for future generations, as is made manifest by the thorough, superior development of the county and the character of its people. Probably without the remotest thought of a manufacturing city ever growing in their midst, they selected the site for its promise of healthfulness and its many advantages for an agricultural community.

They found the productive soil consisting principally of a rich loam, bedded in clay, of a gently rolling, undulating surface, watered by three forks of the White Water river and its numerous branches, while underlying it was a geological formation of lime-

stone and gravel, the advantage of which was to be considered as much for good roads as building purposes. And another advantage of paramount consideration, in lieu of wells, was the superabundance of elegant spring water that gushed cool and sparkling from the gravelly deposits on both sides of the valley at innumerable places. To-day the importance of a good spring to the pioneer is very liable to be underestimated, but in their day, their rude dwellings were located in what would now be considered the most inaccessible places, because of the proximity of a never-failing spring. Thus, the necessities as well as the customs of a people and the people themselves, not alone as individuals, but as classes, serve their purpose and are beneficial.

Both branches of Friends—the so-termed "Orthodox" and "Hicksites"—have had their weekly, monthly and yearly meetings here since their establishment in the White Water valley, and the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Orthodox Friends has grown to be the largest body of Quakers in the world, exceeding in numbers the mother meeting, the London Yearly Meeting, many years ago. The Friends do not predominate here as of yore. To-day, the Quaker in full regulation attire—the head of the home in broad-brimmed beaver hat and shad-bellied coat, or his life's companion in hard-sell-silk bonnet and prim, plain drab garb—is seldom seen save among the very oldest people. Yet, the enterprise that developed the resources of the county and made Richmond her metropolis and envied city, gave "Old Wayne" the undisputed title of the banner county of the State and built the most substantial, prosperous, wealthy and healthy city of over 20,000 population in all the West, has been a conservative kind of enterprise, tempered with the cautious, honest and frugal ideas of those early day Friends, who planted broad and deep the foundation upon which we find the substantial superstructure of to-day. Indeed, a detailed history of the rise of the Society of Friends in the White Water valley, of the uninterrupted growth of Richmond, and of the thrice located county seat, would embody the germane points in the history of the county.

EARLY TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS.

Of course, the first object of the "newcomer" was to get a "patch" cleared large enough to admit of a log cabin, and in the meanwhile, if they could not "stop" with friends who had preceded them, they were domiciled in the great four-horse wagons and

Carolina carts, with which they had immigrated. Then came the herculean task of enlarging the patch to the proportions of a "clearing" and having "put in" enough seed to raise enough food for man and beast for the first year; the next object was to swell the clearing to the dignified proportions of a farm, with roads opened to it. All this meant almost superhuman hardship, but with the "raisings" of cabin and barn, the "log rollings" and the "huskings" when the corn was gathered in the fall, came also the mirth of reciprocal good fellowship, the good cheer of hospitality and the reward within for helping one another. Fully compensated was he who was selected at the raising as expert enough to "carry up a corner," and proud as he was, his rival for distinction at the logging, who excelled all the others in physical strength, was he who stood the test of superior manhood. The corners properly saddled and notched, the experts again displayed their skill in carrying up the gables, between which saplings spanned the space, and on these the clapboards were placed to be held down by weight poles, spaced with knees to hold them in place. Then came the big outside stick and clay chimney—built cobhouse fashion—the puncheon floor, greased paper window, the split board door with wooden hinges and latch-spring fastening, and all was done to the furnishing, save chinking and daubing with mud the interstices between the logs. For daylight, they supplemented the limited supply from the greased paper window by leaving the door open, and at night they relied upon the glare from the broad open fire place, and a single room served for all purposes. It was more room outside for crops they were thinking most about, and they did not wait to cut down all the timber to get it, as in many settlements. They grubbed out what they could of the small growth, felled the smaller trees and deadened the large ones by girding about them the burning brush of the smaller ones, at the same time insuring an immense yield of whatever was planted in the scorched soil thus claimed. Next in turn came the matter of fencing, and here again, in splitting the most rails in a day, was another opportunity for a standing in general estimation only to be compared with that won at the "raising" or the "logging." The "crack shot" was not in it for comparison, for wild game was so plentiful and money so scarce they would not waste ammunition on anything they could trap. Meat, like raiment, was a secondary consideration; the question was to get breadstuffs.

The newcomers had nothing provided for the first year and for several years had a four days horseback journey, to and fro,

to Bruce's Mill, over in Ohio, when they had any considerable grist to grind. Some few had iron handmills, *a la* coffee grinders, while others improvised huge grates by perforating an old tin bucket with a nail, on which they would rasp the corn before it got hard; but partial relief came in the fall of 1807, when three tub mills were built in various parts of the valley, at a combined cost of about $500. Then corn-dodgers, pones, hoe-cake and Johnny-cake became less a luxury, as compared to boiled or roasted corn and lye hominy; nor did mush much longer reign as hasty pudding. In lieu of imported coffee at fifty cents a pound—the price of a calf—the bread crust, corn meal, wheat and potato coffee was used; and in lieu of tea, they made use of sycamore chips and beech leaves when sassafras and spicewood were not in season. The hogs they raised for domestic meat proved as wild as the game from running in the woods, and more dangerous than any save the bear and wolves. In the annual hog hunts, some would escape for several years, and with tusks several inches long they would rip open a dog with a single flirt of their snout and compel men without guns to climb trees for safety. The deer not only furnished the most desirable wild meat, but also raiment, for dressed deer skins supplied the belted blanket coat, breeches and moccasins for the majority. Some had homemade blue cloth trousers and linsey hunting shirts, but most women, before their children grew up to help them, had enough spinning and weaving to do to keep up a quantity sufficient of "stuff" for themselves and daughters. Gingham and calico was as rich raiment for them as shoes and Kentucky jeans were for the men.

The wife of that epoch was a helpmate in fact, under most adverse circumstances. To cook as they did would drive a chef of to-day to suicide. With kettles suspended on hooked-end "trammels" from strong poles embedded back in the wide fireplace; with long handled frying pans and three-legged "spiders" *a la* skillets, they had to do all manner of cooking, at the cost of singed hair, blistered hands, if not faces, and scorched clothing, until "cranes" and "reflectors" came to modify their troubles, in advance of cooking stoves. But the good wife did not complain, so long as her husband had to trudge through sod and roots with his bar-share plow with wooden moldboard, then "drag" his field with an improvised harrow, put his seed in with a bushy topped sapling, using husk collars and rawhide traces for harness, and later on harvested his wheat with a little sickle or reaphook, before cradles came; then thresh it with a flail—the "swingle" of which was liable to brain him—and "winnow" it with a tow-linen sheet.

Amid such tribulations, privations and poverty, they began their internal improvements, including the erection of churches and conducting "subscription" schools in them, thoroughly grounded in the belief that "whenever there is true religion, there are schools." The churches or school-houses were built like their primitive dwellings, heretofore described, with a long slab for a writing desk, under the greased paper window, supplied with goose quill pens, on which the ink would often freeze, and the course of instruction was confined to "readin', writin', spellin' and 'rithmetic" for many years. But that was only the beginning. Before there was any legislation in the interest of education, and crude as it was, this community was far in advance of other pioneer settlements, an advance subsequently maintained and at length giving to the county a reputation among educators that has proved most gratifying to all public-spirited citizens. The first school was taught "the first year the Quakers came" (1807), and in 1811 their meeting had a standing committee on schools. They, or their fathers, had had advantages "in Pennsylvania" before going to North Carolina or coming here, and their "concern for the education of our youth" was doubtless the most potent influence in the upbuilding of schools for the first two decades in the county's history.

The records on school law show an act of the State legislature as early as 1824 and another in 1828, but the record of our schools show no results until after the act of 1831. Then elementary schools were established, and after the State school fund of $573,502.96 was created by the distribution of the surplus revenue of the General Government in 1837, common schools received material aid, but it was not until after the act of 1849, increasing the school revenue by direct taxation, that district schools became common here as well as elsewhere in the State. But a comparison, to invite favorable comment for Wayne county, is found in the last census prior to the above date, *i. e.*, 1840, which shows that in Indiana at large one adult person in seven was illiterate, whereas there was only one in 222 in Wayne county; that is, of 9,349 only forty-two could not read or write. Meanwhile, in addition to her many district schools, the County Seminary was built, in 1828, at Centerville, the county seat, another in 1839 at Cambridge City, which flourished under the instruction of Rev. Samuel K. Hoshour, whose name will never fade from the honor roll of Indiana's educators; an academy at Dublin in 1837, and divers secular schools at Richmond, besides what is now Earlham College, the chief edu-

cational institution in the county, one of the leading colleges of the State and one of the four principal colleges in the United States conducted by Friends. It was in 1832 that the Indiana Yearly Meeting purchased the farm, 120 acres, for the purpose of establishing an industrial school, to which a number of academies in various parts of the State were to be made contributory. But ere this project could become active, the proposed State system of public schools began engrossing public sentiment. It was not until 1847 that the "Friends Boarding School" was opened, and it was not until 1852-4 that it was completed at a cost of $46,000, not including about $3,000 expended for apparatus and library, with which it continued as an academic institution until 1859. Then it got its college charter and was christened Earlham College, in grateful acknowledgment of a substantial donation from an affluent English Friend, whose estate was known as "Earlham."

With the growth of education came about as many churches as school-houses, and that other requisite to modern civilization, the newspaper press, each supporting the other and all conspiring to stimulate culture, morality, good government and progress in internal improvements of every kind. There is hardly a hamlet in the county that has not one or more churches; the leading denominations are represented in all the larger towns and Richmond is called a City of Spires; the first newspaper appeared in 1820, since which time their number has been legion and scores have expired after labors well performed, leaving many survivors to continue the good work, in which they are doing valiant service, the Richmond press being especially superior for a city of its size to support as many.

Internal improvements were comparatively early enjoyed in Wayne county, yet in the light of the present age, the wonder is that the opened highways, mud and corduroy roads were not sooner superseded by better ones, with such a superabundance of excellent gravel so near the surface. The act of Congress authorizing the construction of a turnpike from Cumberland, Md., to Ohio, at the expense of the Government, which was passed the year the Quakers made their first settlement in this valley, in 1806, was destined, at a rather remote period, to give the first real impetus to the building of the unsurpassed system of turnpikes that was in store for Wayne county. The Cumberland Road, or National Road, as it subsequently became known, was extended as settlements grew to the West, but it was by measured strides, appropriations being fought as unconstitutional or inexpedient, and the

project was finally relinquished to the States through which the road passed after it had been opened to Vandalia, Ill., and bridged as well as graded, a greater part of the way, and then, in Indiana at least, it was relinquished by the State to the counties, and in turn to private companies. The Wayne County Turnpike Company was chartered during the legislative session of 1849-50, and during the latter year the twenty-two miles of road that threaded the county was completed. Then followed the rapid building of other pikes to intersect it, affording communication to distant townships, and next, tributary roads to the latter, so that the first authentic reward of the turnpikes in the county, fifteen years later, shows twenty-one in number, averaging 148 miles in length, many of which extended into adjoining counties; and from this latter period the enterprise in building free gravel roads rapidly resulted in sapping the pecuniary value of the tollroads, until their stockholders have surrendered the less profitable ones and gladly disposed of the others to the respective townships, until there is not a tollroad in Wayne county.

The building of canals was begun under the Internal Improvement bill passed by the legislature during the session of 1835-36, but in 1839 the State had to abandon all public works and square itself to face an accumulated debt of $14,000,000. Thereupon, the White Water Valley Canal Company was chartered, 1841-42, with $400,000 capital stock, to complete the canal (then built from the Ohio river to Brookville) to Cambridge City, at which place operations were begun July 28, 1842. The day was made the occasion for a big barbacue, attended by about 10,000 people, and boats began running in 1846; but 'midst a prosperous freight and passenger business, the company sustained about $100,000 damage from a great freshet, in January, 1847, from which they had only began to recover when another nearly as great came in November, 1848. But still they struggled on. Meanwhile, in 1847, the Hagerstown Canal Company had completed its canal, to be operated in connection with the White Water canal, between Hagerstown and Cambridge City, and hope was still entertained by the Richmond & Brookville Canal Company, on which project $45,000 of the $80-, 000 contracted had been expended, when the freshet of 1847 destroyed about all of it. However, the Richmond & Brookville Company had had no assistance from the State, and the stockholders were too fearful of the grade of their canal—a fall of 273 feet in thirty-four miles—after what they saw of that freshet and also of the prospects of a railroad that was already coming on to

Richmond to proceed with the project at an estimated cost of $508,000, and the Hagerstown canal, with but a few small boats, was not proving a very material auxiliary; so the White Water canal was abandoned a few years later. It was in fact "run over by the locomotive," the present White Water Valley branch of the Big Four railroad being built on its towpath and bed most of the way from Hagerstown to Harrison, Ohio.

The first railroad incorporated in Wayne county was the Richmond & Miami, Jan. 19, 1840. Its charter was amended Jan. 24, 1851, to include the Dayton & Western, with which it was connected by a branch from the Ohio and Indiana State line. Another branch to the State line, only about four miles from Richmond, was built in conjunction with the Eaton & Hamilton, which subsequently passed into the hands of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, from which it was acquired by the Panhandle (Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis) people only a few years ago, when they continued it from Hamilton to intersect their Little Miami division near Cincinnati. The next was the Terre Haute & Richmond, chartered Jan. 26, 1847, but an act of Jan. 20, 1851, limited that road between Terre Haute and Indianapolis, while creating a new company, the Indiana Central, to build that part between Indianapolis and Richmond, or the Ohio line. On this, regular trains began running Sept. 19, 1853, and the same year witnessed the completion of the New Castle & Richmond, chartered Feb. 16, 1848, on which train service began early in 1854, in conjunction with the Eaton & Hamilton. In time its construction was continued to Chicago, and then as now afforded a through line between that city and Cincinnati. What is now the Cincinnati, Richmond & Ft. Wayne road, operated as a part of the Grand Rapids & Indiana, was chartered Feb. 24, 1853, but, after spending much time and money, its projectors had to let it remain *statu quo*, until liberal subscriptions were obtained by changing its northern route, April 7, 1869, from Camden and Bluffton to Portland and Decatur, and additional appropriations were voted it, whereupon it was speedily completed and put in operation, Jan. 1, 1872. What was originally known as "Junction" road and now forms a part of the Ft. Wayne, Cincinnati & Louisville branch of the Lake Erie & Western, was completed in July, 1865, and a continuance of it was made from Cambridge City to New Castle in 1867, while the "Cambridge City Extension" (of the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis), now operated by the Panhandle, to connect with the Louisville division at Columbus, Ind., was made the

same year, thus completing 85.95 miles of main track and about fifteen miles of sidetrack, or a total of 100 miles of trackage in Wayne county.

By the same act of the Territorial legislature forming the county of Wayne, in 1810, John Cox, John Addington and George Holman were commissioned to locate a county seat, on or before the first Monday in May, 1811. Meanwhile, however, court was held at the rude residence of Richard Rue, as indeed it was subsequent to locating the county seat, pending the building of a log court house. The first court was held Feb. 25, 1811, but it was not a judicial session, the purpose being to divide the county into two districts, or townships, and appoint such officers as overseers of the poor and fence viewers, the county business being done by judges—Peter Fleming, Aaron Martin and Jeremiah Meek; the clerk was George Hunt, the sheriff, John Turner, and the prosecutor, James Noble. At the next session, in March, the first grand jury was impaneled, and at the June term it was declared that the commissioners appointed by the legislature had failed to discharge their duty in selecting a county seat, and a new commission, consisting of Samuel Walker, Richard Maxwell and Benjamin Harris, was appointed for the purpose. The original commission had not been derelict in its duty, however; they had failed to agree. Two of them, sticking to the text of the legislation to select a site near the geographical center, had done so, about a mile north of the present town of Centerville, but the third had dissented on the ground that the quarter-section named had not yet been sold by the Government, and the latter's minority report was sustained by the court, which instructed the new commission to select a site between Richmond and Centerville. To hit the bull's eye in the center, they selected a sixty-five-acre tract, belonging to Samuel Woods, just midway between the two towns, and the embryo seat of justice was named Salisbury. Thereupon Smith Hunt, Samuel Woods and James Brown were appointed trustees to plat the town, while Andrew Woods and John Meek superintended the building of a jail and estray pen. A log court house also came in turn, the records showing the first court to be held in it Oct. 28, 1811, and the logs it contained are today hidden in a modernized Richmond residence, while the bricks that were in the second jail built at Salisbury are also in the inside walls of a Main street business house and an old Richmond residence.

The dissension in regard to the "center" and Salisbury sites for the county seat led to the first "court house war," which was

destined to be followed by two others ere the scales of justice were to be permanently poised in Richmond. The central faction denounced the court in unmeasured terms and the census of the community was taken, resulting in 330 subscribing to the majority report of the legislative commission and only 150 to that of the commission appointed by the court. Despite the feeling, however, Salisbury "held the fort" and, in 1816, boasted of thirty-five houses, two stores and two taverns, one of which latter is supposed to still stand, as the only landmark on the site of the otherwise totally obliterated first county seat. That year, 1816, Indiana Territory was admitted to the sisterhood of States and the factional fight was carried into the legislature, where an act was passed, authorizing the removal of the county seat to Centerville, providing the advocates of the removal supply good buildings, *i. e.*, a court house, jail and estray pen, free of cost to the county, and pending their erection, to equal in point of convenience and value those at Salisbury. The Centerville trustees were to provide and furnish a suitable place for holding court and transacting public business generally.

The act bears date of Dec. 21, 1816, and further provides that its provisions should be complied with on or before Aug. 1, 1817, yet it was not to be in force until June 1. However, the Centerville faction was only too willing to accept the terms thereof and, as a guarantee of good faith, gave a $10,000 bond, with ten of their best men as sureties. The commissioners held their last session at Salisbury, in August, 1817, and the county seat was removed to Centerville during 1817-18, but the buildings were not completed until 1821-22, and the removal was not accomplished without much bitterness of feeling and stubborn opposition. David Hoover, who had led the van of North Carolina Quakers here, was with the Salisbury faction and had a most formidable following. At the organization of the county, in 1810, he had been made justice of the peace; next, in 1815, associate judge of the Circuit Court, and, in 1817, clerk of the court. So hostile was he to Centerville that he refused to remove his office fixtures there, and among the archives is an order from the commissioners, addressed to the clerk and authorizing a deputized third party to remove the "publick stove from Salisbury to Centerville on the 26th day of December, 1820." One of the commissioners, Isaac Julian, married Judge Hoover's sister, but he was a Centerville man with all the determination that characterized his French-Huguenotic ancestor, Rene St. Julien, under the Prince of Orange, and the stand he took

against the former resulted in a mutual semi-estrangement ever after. For Judge Hoover was also fixed in his way of thinking, as is indicated by the fact that though he was so popular as to be re elected again and again for nearly fourteen years, he steadfastly refused to remove to Centerville from the homestead he originally chose, in 1807, immediately north of Richmond. A biographical sketch referring to him as clerk of the court from 1817 to 1834 says "he might have continued in the office had it not been that, owing to his domestic tastes, he could not be prevailed on to remove to the county seat, which the people required him to do." But it was not alone "domestic tastes" that actuated him, as the reader may infer.

With the completion of the court house and jail, in 1821-22, simultaneously began the growth of Centerville and the decadence of Salisbury, which latter now has only a place in memory, where it may be worthy of note to add, it is associated with the fact that at just this time, Aug. 4, 1823, there was born there the most distinguished personage in the history of the State. This was the Hon. Oliver P. Morton, whose name will forever be associated with the leaders of the United States Senate, but whose chief glory was attained as Indiana's War Governor. Yet, Centerville claims him as her son, as that was the theatre of his life from boyhood to the hour of his fame—as the boy apprentice in a hatter shop, student, lawyer, judge, and politician. Indeed, Centerville was the theatre in which divers men of future renown made their debut, but from 1850 the development of Richmond, every year, emphasized the probability of the county seat being again removed, and two decades later the third and certainly final "court house war" was come. Rumors of the war had preceded it, and to fortify against such an issue the Centerville people essayed to anchor the county seat there by building an elegant new jail and designating much needed fireproof vaults for the accumulated records. But the recognized necessity for better court house facilities, coupled with the evident purpose of the Centerville faction, only sufficed to precipitate the war they had hoped to avert. In 1867 the jail was built at a cost of about $70,000, but Richmond had now become too formidable a rival for the county seat to be thwarted. She had increased in population from 320, when Centerville was made the county seat, to nearly 10,000, which was more than six times her population when she got her first railroad, and an increase of fifty per cent. since the war began, while she had in all other respects developed in like ratio. Hence, in point of legal business

and the diversified relations of the seat of justice to the rest of the county, she was pre-eminent and there was no staying the tide in her favor. On June 3, 1872, there was presented to the Board of County Commissioners a petition signed by 4,048 legal voters of the county, praying for the removal of the county seat to Richmond, and in September following, having taken ample time to consider the petition, the merits of the claim made by its subscribers, and the facts as they found them, the commissioners notified the Governor that all preliminary conditions for such removal had been complied with and received their approval. Accordingly, the Governor appointed appraisers to value the county property at Centerville and, at their December meeting, the commissioners authorized the auditor to advertise for bids for the construction of new buildings at Richmond, whereupon the attorneys for the opposition applied to the Circuit Court for an injunction against letting the contract, but the court held that the order of the commissioners was supreme. From this decision an appeal was taken, and when the order was made to remove the records, upon completion of the Richmond court house, in August, 1873, another judge granted a temporary restraining order, but it was soon revoked. Thereupon, during the latter part of September, the sheriff deputized a posse to tear down the jail at Centerville, which effort was opposed with a determination that was not short of mob violence and for the time prevented the execution of the commission. To prevent absolute bloodshed the matter was again taken into court and an injunction was granted, restraining the sheriff from "razing" the jail pending an investigation and the decision of the Supreme Court relative to the removal of records and archives. But for the latter they had to wait only till Oct. 10, and as the supreme tribunal affirmed the decision of the lower court, the second restraining order was promptly annulled. Yet so hostile was the feeling that the opposing faction was not ready to abide by the decision, but *per contra* filed a petition for a rehearing the day the decision was made known, and when a contractor appeared to again attempt "razing" the jail a mob again interfered and prevented it, until it was ascertained, the following week, that the prayer for a rehearing was hopeless. Then hostilities ceased, the work of demolition began Oct. 23, to proceed without further molestation, and the materials in the prison part were most advantageously utilized in erecting our present jail in a most complete and substantial manner. But the court house erected during the hurry of this exciting period was

only intended to serve temporarily, albeit there were hosts to say it was good enough when the time came to erect the present magnificent one, which doubtless surpasses any in the State in originality and newness of design, if not in architectural beauty and elegance of construction, its style or plan being a wide departure from the stereotyped one that appears in the great majority of court houses of both high and low degree. Its erection was decided upon by the commissioners at their June term, 1891, and at their September term a formidable remonstrance was filed, but this they rejected as they also did the first plans submitted by several architects, at their November term.

Thereupon McLaughlin, the Cincinnati architect, was employed to prepare plans and specifications, incorporating ideas advanced by the commissioners, who had traveled and viewed court houses until they thought they knew what they wanted. The following April, 1892, proposals were received and the contract let to A. G. Campfield & Company, for $274,000, but divers changes and additions were made which swelled the final cost to about $425,000.

THE WHITE WATER SETTLEMENT OF FRIENDS.

The Society of Friends has never taken kindly to the appellation of "Quaker," as it was given them in derision, but it antedates their history in America, back to that early epoch when they were known as the "Children of Light." It was when George Fox, the founder of the sect, was arraigned before Justice Bennett, of Derby, England, in 1650, for promulgating their doctrine, and told him to "quake before the Lord," whereupon the court following styled them Quakers. As previously stated, the Nestor of the Society made his advent here in 1806, to be followed by the vanguard in 1807, and by August of the latter year their number was so augmented (to eighty-four, children and all) that West Branch (Ohio) Monthly Meeting "indulged" a subordinate meeting here. At its first session, in one of the rude homes, there were only thirty-four present, but when it was learned that a meeting had been indulged the colony began increasing more rapidly and by the next year they built a meeting house. It was a log house, twenty-four feet square, and in it the present White Water Monthly Meeting was established by Miami (Ohio) Quarterly Meeting, 9th Month, 30th, 1889, with 265 members—the first in Indiana Territory.

In his Memoir, Dr. Plummer, in referring to this first meeting

INDIANA YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS: 1844.

house says, "I remember its leaking roof, letting the rain through upon the slab benches, with three pairs of legs and no backs; its charcoal fires, kept in sugar kettles, for as yet stoves were not procured, and the toes pinched with cold of the young, who sat remote from the kettles"; and under such circumstances, their attendance sufficiently attested the sincerity of their devotion; but harder trials, "for opinion's sake," were in store for them. Their pursuits of peace were hardly inaugurated in their new home until the War of 1812 came, and during its continuance it was more of the oppression of the whites than of the Indians that the Friends had to complain. Based on the testimony of Jesus, to love the Lord with all our heart and our neighbor as ourselves, the Friends have a testimony against all wars, in spirit or in fact, wherefore they declined to participate in any of the busy preparation for war. They not alone refrained from "mustering" but steadfastly refused to drill or serve any way whatsoever when drafted. Therefore, they were repeatedly arrested, fined and imprisoned; but while they did not resist arrest nor imprisonment, they refused to pay fines and allowed their hard earned effects to be seized and sold at nominal valuations to liquidate the penalties imposed. True to their principles, they were non-resisting, but fixed in purpose. Four young Friends, however, who had no effects to be sold and suffered long imprisonment, without fire and other necessities, subsequently recovered damages off the county. One old Friend named Elliott so stubbornly defied the authorities that he was ordered shot, but was purposely allowed to escape the guard to avoid executing the order. But amid their tribulations a blessing came that same year, for 6th Month, 1812, Baltimore Yearly Meeting had established West Branch (Ohio) Quarterly Meeting "only forty miles distant," to which their White Water Monthly Meeting then became attached. This forty miles was through the dense, primeval forest, and the hostilities of the Indians were kindled to a war heat by the animosities of the whites, but the Friends had already inculcated in the barbaric minds of the red men that they were especially friendly to them, and right while the spirit to kill was rife within their savage breasts they manifested, in a degree, toward the Friends much of that reciprocal feeling that in years after prompted those of their race to fall in reverence at the base of William Penn's statue in Philadelphia. A contributor to a local paper told only a few years ago how the Quaker's garb was a signal of friendliness, in which the red men had abiding faith even in those hostile times. Even his mother

felt safe to ride to mill alone, only taking the precaution to array herself in her First-day (Sunday) bonnet and shawl. But all this time the Indians were committing all sorts of depredations, in a vindictive spirit, against those pioneers who were fortifying with block houses, in which they constantly took refuge from the time General Harrison began the expedition that made him the "hero of Tippecanoe" until the Harrison-Cass treaty was effected in July, 1814, about thirty miles from this city, at which there were several thousand Indians of various tribes. Peace restored, the administration of White Water Monthly Meeting augmented, in 1815, to six subordinate meetings, aggregating 800 members, and the strength of the Society was recognized the following year by the civil authorities of the Territory by selecting one of their representative members, Jeremiah Cox, as a delegate to the Corydon Convention, which, in June, 1816, adopted the State Constitution. Next, Jan. 4, 1817, White Water Monthly Meeting became a Quarterly Meeting and continued to strengthen each year until Oct. 8, 1821, when Indiana Yearly Meeting was established, which rendered necessary the building of a new and more commodious meeting house, as the old log one had meanwhile proved inadequate for even the Quarterly Meeting; and it was not alone a larger one that was immediately proposed, but a brick one, which, in view of the fact that brick houses were as yet very few in Wayne county, was considered very enterprising by all and somewhat to be deplored by some of the plainer factors in the meeting, who were fearful lest it be a little ostentatious. In 1823, the walls were built, and in 1824 it was occupied, but it was not until 1829 that it was completed. It was a "big thing" for that period and moved slowly, but it was substantially built, as is evidenced by the fact that after it had served its original purpose it was converted into an oil mill and still stands, as an adjunct to a large lumber yard, in a good repairable state of preservation. That it was economically builded before "rings" and "jobs" were known as requisite to a large undertaking is also evidenced by the very complete reports made by the "overseers." They report, "May 1, 1824: Stone in foundation, loads, 225; brick, 266,000; hewed timber, feet, 8,473; sawed scantling, feet, 12,501; shingles, 43,200; glass, panes 1,029; walls, 100x60x30 feet, in lower story 22 inches and upper 18 inches thick. Money expended, $3,489.91½." But as the building was not completed until five years later, and so much in work and materials was gratuitously contributed, the above figures only approximately indicate the real cost of the historic old pile.

Pending the completion of the big brick meeting house, came a dissention in the Society that split them asunder. That was the "split" of 1827-28 that resulted in the two "branches" of to day. With no creed nor ritual, no church form that binds one meeting to the other save their "correspondence," as they term an annual exchange of epistles, they rely upon their faith in God as the Father, and his revelations through Christ the Son, first, and then their own love for one another, for unity. But when Elias Hicks came here, at this time, on his pilgrimage from one meeting to another, preaching his new "views," the major part of the meeting arose in opposition to their promulgation. They were branded as the doctrine of the Universalists and would not be tolerated by the main body of the Meeting, whereupon he went to Charles W. Starr's barnyard, not far distant, to preach his views, which were especially pronounced on the divinity of Christ, the miraculous conception and the atonement. A memorable declaration was that there was no more virtue in the blood Christ shed than in the blood of an ox; that the crucifixion of God's chosen Son was the work of man; that it was by His examples and not his sacrifice that he fulfilled his mission. The result was that about 140 members "split off" and established another Meeting, which has ever since held its yearly meetings alternately here and at Waynesville, Ohio, but has never assumed numerical strength in the West comparing to the Orthodox Meeting, albeit the Hicksites are in the majority in Philadelphia. There are now less than 2,000 members of the Hicksite Yearly Meeting, about two-thirds of whom belong to the Quarterly Meeting here; whereas, there are about 20,000 members of the Indiana (Orthodox) Yearly Meeting, which, as before stated, is the largest body of Friends in this country or any other; and it has this distinction despite that in three-score-and-ten years of its existence there has been "set off" from it Iowa Yearly Meeting, Western (Indiana) Yearly Meeting, and Kansas Yearly Meeting.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY HISTORY—(Continued).

INDIANS HARRASS SETTLERS—SETTLEMENT ON THE ELKHORN—EXPERIENCES OF JOSEPH COX—GEORGE HOLMAN AND RICHARD RUE CAPTURED BY INDIANS—ACCOUNT OF THEIR CAPTIVITY—THE HOOVER FAMILY—JEREMIAH COX—CHARLES HUNT AND SONS—EARLY MILLS—FIRST ENTRY OF LAND—FIRST CLEARING AT RICHMOND—NAMES OF EARLY SETTLERS—EARLY ELECTIONS AND COURTS—WAR OF 1812.

When General St. Clair came West as the Governor of the new "Territory Northwest of the Ohio," just organized by the Ordinance of 1787, he found a few settlements scattered along the right bank of the Ohio and in the "then almost unbroken wilds." The hostile demonstrations of the Indians harrassed the settlers and led to a long and disastrous war, which was closed in the treaty of Greenville by General Wayne, Aug. 3, 1795. This treaty secured to the United States Government a large part of what is now the State of Ohio and that part of Indiana east of a line drawn from Fort Recovery (now in Mercer county, Ohio) to the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river. After the treaty of Greenville settlements began to be made slowly in the White Water Valley. In 1795, a few families settled upon the bottom lands on the banks of the Ohio where Lawrenceburg now stands. During the war a line of forts had been built, extending north from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) to Fort Recovery, but as late as 1804 settlements had not been made further north than where Hamilton now is, at which place there was a trading house and a few Kentucky and North Carolina families. Settlers were also scattered up the White Water as far as the site of Brookville, and scarcely had any pioneer explored the country above where Dunlapsville, Union county, is.

In February, 1805, Richard Rue, George Holman and his sons—Joseph, aged seventeen and one-half years, and William, aged sixteen years—Joseph Cox and Mary, his wife (the eldest daughter of Rue), Thomas McCoy, William Blunt, and Patrick

O'Harra crossed the Ohio near the mouth of the Kentucky river to explore the new region just brought into the market by the Government and known as the "Seven Mile Purchase." Joseph Cox and his young wife brought all their possessions along on pack horses, intending to make their permanent home wherever they found a place to suit their fancy. This exploring party passed the settlements near where Hamilton now is and came up the eastern branch of White Water as far as Short creek, where they pitched their camp, Feb. 10, about two-and-a-half miles south of the present site of Richmond. They explored the surrounding forest, passing over the fertile lands watered by the streams now known as Lick creek, Clear creek, West, Green's and Noland's forks, Nettle and Simond's creeks, and on the east, Four Mile, Silver and Hanna's creeks, and were greatly pleased with the country.

After six days spent in prospecting, Rue, George Holman, McCoy, and Blunt returned to Kentucky to make arrangements for removal to the White Water Valley. Cox anad his wife, the Holman boys, and O'Harra remained to work upon the quarter-sections of land which Rue and Holman had entered the year before at the Cincinnati Land Office. This land was situated on Short creek, near Cox's camp.

The return of the rest of the colony was expected in a few weeks, but unforeseen difficulties prevented their arrival for over two months. During these two months, Joseph Cox explored and gave names to several of the streams in his neighborhood. Elkhorn was so named from the circumstance of his finding a large pair of elk horns in that creek near its mouth. Lick creek was so named from a "deer-lick" found on its bank. The colony not having returned as soon as expected it was deemed advisable not to await their assistance, so cabin logs being cut, the aid of some Shawnese and Delawares who were passing was obtained and the cabin raised. It was situated on a knoll near Short creek, called Rue's Branch, near the road leading from Richmond to Abington.

A short time before the cabin was built, while Cox and his wife were making sugar, an Indian came to the camp with trinkets and endeavored to force a bargain for Cox's dog. The Indian offered various articles for the dog, but was refused. He increased the amount, but this being also rejected, he sprang to his feet, seized his gun and angrily exclaimed, "Shall swap!" Cox, who had been carelessly stirring at the kettle, but gradually approaching the stump behind which his rifle was, now seized it and

ordered the "peddler" to "puck-a-chee" (go home). The scared Shawnee suddenly recollected urgent business at a distance which demanded his immediate personal attention, and left accordingly.

The settlers seemed to have formed the acquaintance of some of the "first families," who sought to do them favors. One morning an old Indian—a frequent visitor—came to the cabin, looking very sad. He said he had an important secret, must tell it and be off, for it might cost him his life to be found there. He told them that the young braves could no longer be restrained; they had determined on beginning hostilities along the frontier as soon as the leaves got as large as a squirrel's ear. "Take your good squaw and go back to Kentucky as soon as you can—don't fail to go soon—good-bye." The next day an aged squaw came and confirmed this statement. She besought them with tears in her eyes to leave or they would certainly be killed. These voluntary communications of friendly natives, taken in connection with the attempt of the Indian to deprive them of their watchdog, gave the settlers some anxiety. They took the matter into serious consideration and finally decided to run the risk of remaining, notwithstanding the protest of the Irishman, who, weak as he was with the fever and ague, was willing to "foot it" back to Kentucky.

Some time after this, while Cox and his wife were both at work a short distance from the cabin—the other men being at the clearing more than a mile away—twelve warriors made their appearance and raised the war whoop. Cox told his wife to go to the cabin and be prepared to let him in and fasten the door immediately, if he should have need of seeking refuge. He then went towards the warriors, while she went to the cabin, arranged the door, called in the dog, put new priming in the guns and prepared to run bullets in case they were required. Cox approached the Indians, who were seated on a log, and offered to shake hands with them; they did not reciprocate his friendliness very warmly, but he insisted on shaking hands with every one of them. The Indians remained sullen, would not speak a word, so Cox's next move was to examine and pretend to admire their guns, at the same time by a sleight-of-hand movement disarranging the flints or knocking out the priming. He now thought to run to his cabin before they could discover the trick, when the whole party arose, laughed long and loud, patted Cox on the back and said, "Good, brave man, brave squaw!" All became mutually friendly and Cox invited them to the cabin, where his wife entertained them with the "best the country afforded." The rest of the day the

whole party spent in shooting at a mark, Cox making the best shots. This, one warrior said, was owing to the superiority of his rifle. But Cox let him try it. It would go off as soon as the trigger was touched and before the Indian could draw a sight. Cox reloaded it for him, explained that it had a double trigger and must be touched lightly, etc. The red gentleman this time endeavored to discharge it by blowing upon the trigger, but finally abandoned the idea of excelling his palefaced host. The Indians took leave in a friendly manner, and ever after "Young Kentuck" and his "good squaw" were great favorites with the natives. Their cabin was often visited by some of the noted chiefs and warriors of the Northwest.

Many are the amusing anecdotes told of Patrick's bungling attempts at hunting and of his nervous apprehension of the "bloody red rascals." But no doubt occasion has required it, for Wayne county's first citizen of foreign birth must have proved himself as brave as did his countrymen, who in a later day went forth from the same county to meet a mightier foe and make a greater sacrifice.

Rue, Holman and Joseph Woodkirk arrived in the month of April, 1805, accompanied by their families and three young men—John Collins, Daniel Griffin, and Hermon Warum—whom they met after crossing the Ohio. George Holman is said to have acted as "bell-ringer" to the party most of the way, as the dense forest rendered it necessary that some one should go forward and ring a bell so that the immigrant train could follow along the dim and rugged "boundary trace." In many places the "trace" was discernible only by the "blazes" upon the trees, and they could only be found after diligent search among the exuberant foliage. After eight or ten days' difficult traveling, these first regular train "movers" arrived at the cabin of Joseph Cox.

Rue built a cabin on the brow of the hill northeast from the mouth of Short creek. Holman erected one three-quarters of a mile northeast from Rue's.

The following fall, McCoy and Blunt arrived from Kentucky and settled on the west side of the river within half a mile from Rue's and Cox's cabins. In the fall of 1806, Hugh Cull, Jacob Meek, John Cox (father of Joseph), Lazarus Whitehead, Charles Hunt, and their families arrived, and, with the exception of John Cox, joined the "Kentucky Settlement," as it was called, along Big Elkhorn. It is supposed that Hugh Cull, who was a local Methodist preacher, or Lazarus Whitehead, a Baptist minister, preached

the first sermon in Wayne county. John Cox settled where Abington now stands. This town he and his son afterwards laid out (1817).

In the year 1806 arrived also Benjamin and Robert Hill, John Smith, Jeremiah Cox, Andrew and David Hoover, Jacob Foutz, Joseph Wasson (a Revolutionary soldier), and John Addington, among others.

Before attempting any further account of the settlements it may not be uninteresting to glance at the histories of some of those already mentioned.

Joseph Cox, the first settler, was born in Virginia, Nov. 8, 1783. When about ten years of age he moved with his father to Redstone Fort (now Brownsville), Pa., then quite a newly settled region. Soon they removed to Kentucky. John Cox, the father, was a blacksmith and gunsmith and worked at these employments most of the time, leaving Joseph to take charge of the farm. He devoted his leisure hours to acquiring such education as the limited advantages of backwoods life allowed. He became a school teacher, and while teaching at New Castle, Ky., married Mary Rue. Shortly afterwards they came to Indiana, as already mentioned. Joseph Cox served in some of the "three-months tours" in the War of 1812 and afterwards studied law with James Noble, then one of the United States Senators from Indiana, but did not enter into practice until 1819, when he removed to Wabash county. He was employed as one of the counsel for the defense of the Indian murderers—Sawyers and Ridge. In October, 1824, he settled at Crawfordsville and actively engaged in the practice of law for several years. He retired to his farm on the Wea Plains until 1836, when he removed to Rock Island county, Illinois. Here he built a mill and managed a small farm. He also practiced law from time to time, being engaged in some of the most noted cases of that time and section. On June 12, 1848, after an illness of thirty-six hours, of inflammation of the brain, he closed his eventful life. His wife survived him some ten years. They were buried side-by-side in a little burial ground on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, between Hampton and Port Byron.

George Holman was born in Maryland, in 1768. While a boy he came with his family to Kentucky. In his sixteenth year he, in company with Richard Rue, was captured by the Indians and remained in their hands nearly three years. Richard Rue was nineteen years old when captured, and was a prisoner about the same length of time. The story of their captivity is sufficient to

form the subject of a future chapter. Rue had been in many Indian campaigns before his capture, and both he and Holman were in one or two after their return. When Rue returned, he found that his brother-in-law, Edward Holman, had administered upon his estate, supposing him to be dead. Not thinking it right to interfere with the claims of the persons who had thus innocently become possessed of his property, he ratified the transaction and began life anew. He afterwards married a relative of George Holman. Holman and he lived many years in Henry and Woodford counties, Kentucky. In 1806, they came to Indiana Territory, as already stated. Their accounts of the new country on their return from the exploring expedition induced many to follow them. There grew around them, on the Elkhorn, quite a settlement, known as the "Kentucky Settlement." Rue died in 1845, and Holman died on May 24, 1859, aged ninety-five years, three months and thirteen days, on his farm near Richmond, where he had lived fifty-four years.

As previously stated, these persons were taken captives and held for several years by the Indians. Some account of their adventure may not be out of place here. On Feb. 11, 1781, Rue and Holman accompanied as guards a wagoner named Irvin Hinton, from Louisville to Harrodsburg, Ky. Hinton was going to Harrodsburg for a load of provisions to supply the block house at the village of Louisville, and more from custom than from fear of molestation, the young man accompanied him. Soon after beginning the journey, a snow storm commenced and continued until after noon. To prevent the snow from dampening the powder in their rifles, they had been fired off. Rue walked ahead of the wagon several rods, while Holman was an equal distance behind. When they reached a hill about eight miles from Louisville, Hinton heard some one say, "Ho!" to the horses. He stopped, asked first Holman and then Rue if they had called out. Each said they had not, but had heard the call and supposed one of the others had made it. While thus standing in amazement, a voice said, "I will solve the mystery for you. It was Simon Girty that cried 'ho!' and he meant what he said." At the same time that notorious renegade emerged from a sink hole near the roadside, followed by thirteen Indians, and demanded instant surrender. Rue raised his gun to shoot Girty, but remembering it was unloaded, took it down and the whole party gave themselves up.

The captors used all possible speed to get their prisoners

away from so near the forts. They took the harness from the horses and bound the prisoners with the lines. Mounting the horses and leading the prisoners, they hurried towards the Ohio river. They arrived before dark and found three canoes concealed on the south bank of the river. The whole party crossed and hurried toward Wapuccanatta (this Indian town stood near the site of the village of Wapakoneta, Auglaize county, Ohio).

It was late that night before they halted and then they were some twenty miles north from the Ohio. Here they encamped without building a fire. For the purpose of eluding pursuit, if any should be attempted, a feint was made by traveling awhile towards the Indian town near Vincennes. The next day was spent in this detour.

Rue had been in several campaigns against the Indians and had obtained some smattering of their language. Girty generally conversed in the Delaware dialect and from the expressions of Rue's countenance suspected that he comprehended what he said. He therefore contrived to separate Rue from the other captives and inquired of them if Rue had not been in some campaigns against the Indians. Admonished by uplifted tomahawks and reminded if the Indians ever caught them in a lie death was the penalty, they reluctantly confessed that Rue had been in several expeditions. Rue chanced to overhear this conversation and feared that his hour had come. But knowing how highly bravery was esteemed by the Indians, he approached the camp and seated himself on a log by Girty, as though he knew nothing of what had transpired. Presently Girty asked him, "Rue, were you ever in a campaign against the Indians?" "Yes." "How many?" "Four." "Were you with General Clark at the taking of Vincennes?" "I was." "Were you with him when he made his dash against Chillicothe and destroyed the Piqua towns and Loramie's Store?" "I was." Girty sprang from his seat in great rage and exclaimed: "You played h—l there; didn't you? I have a mind to split your skull with this hatchet!" But he changed the weapon in his hand and struck Rue only with the handle.

The party relaxed their speed on the third day and, changing their course, proceeded through the White and Blue river countries towards the headwaters of the Wabash. On this journey the Indians generally camped without fire. At night they tied the hands of the captives behind them and made them sleep between guards who lay on the ends of the cords which bound them. The food during the journey consisted of game, hastily prepared.

When within a day's journey of Wapuccanatta a messenger was sent forward to announce their coming. Arriving in sight of the town they saw the inhabitants draw up in two lines prepared for the gauntlet. Girty explained the custom to the prisoners. Hinton and Rue passed through and arrived in the council house after having received such blows as they could not dodge. Holman manifested great reluctance to enter and remonstrated with Girty for desiring one so young and reduced by hard marching to go through so severe an ordeal. After a short parley the plan was changed and women and children took the lines with switches. Holman was now told to go through, which he did, all seeming to enjoy it as a joke.

A council was held at this place, but did not decide upon the fate of the captives on account of the absence of some important personages.

Hinton, who had assumed the appearance of contentment and cheerfulness, so as to deceive his captors, now contemplated an escape. His companions counseled him to wait a while, as something might turn up in their favor. But he kept his plans entirely secret and, in a few nights afterwards, it was announced that "Red Head" (as the Indians called him) had escaped. A general pursuit was instituted. In a day or so all had returned, and they tauntingly shook his scalp in the faces of his companions and asked them "if they could smell the fire on the scalp of their old friend. We cooked him and left him for the wolves to make a breakfast upon! That is the way we serve runaway prisoners." Shortly after this event a general rendezvous of the Indians was called near Detroit, and all the prisoners at Wapuccanatta, Chillicothe and other points were requested to be brought. Girty and his party started to the designated meeting. At the end of the third day's march they arrived at a town near the site of Toledo. It was decided that there the prisoners should run the gauntlet and, as the neighboring chiefs were assembled, the trials of Rue and Holman were determined upon.

As they approached the town the lines were formed for the race. Rue was started down the course, with a stout warrior flourishing an old sword. Rue was well nigh stunned by the blows he received. His pursuer pressed hard upon him and hit him a couple of strokes on the head. Rue leaped over a brush fence, but finding his pursuer had come over also, pretended to stumble and fall. The "big Injun" threatened him with the sword, but he lay still as if unable to rise. The Indian retired several paces and

motioned him to get up. Rue motioned his pursuer to get over the fence, which he did. Rue then sprang nimbly to his feet and reached the council house, without any further blows, amid the cheers of his tormenters, who could not but admire his stratagem. Holman was compelled to pass this time without the dilution of women and switches.

The programme was continued by a feast and scalp dance. The latter performance seemed to betoken no good to the prisoners. A council was then held and at last a vote was taken. Soon after the council broke up, Girty came to announce to them their anticipated doom.

Preparations were made for burning them. Their faces were blacked, as was the custom before administering the "most extreme punishment known to the law."

Some strange excitement seemed to pervade the camp. Crowds lingered around the council house, conversing in excited and angry tones. After awhile a noble looking warrior approached the prisoners and spoke a few words to the guard in the Mingo language. He then cut the cords that bound Holman and led him away, had the black washed from his face, and, putting his hands upon the boy's head, said: "I adopt you as a son, to fill the place of one I have lately buried. You are now a kinsman of Logan—once called the 'friend of the white man,' but lately the terrible avenger of his wrongs."

Presently two Indians came to Rue, unbound him, stripped him, and led him to a stake in the center of a circle of dried brushwood. The contention seemed to break out afresh. Tomahawks and knives were brandished and a general melee appeared imminent. The fire was about to be applied, when a tall young Shawnee, son of the victim's captor, sprang into the ring, cut the cords with his tomahawk, and led Rue forth amid the mingled and noisy cheers and curses of the opposing parties. The young Shawnee, regardless of all threats or remonstrances, had Rue washed and clothed, and told his opposers that he took the prisoner for his brother; they ought to be satisfied with the death of "Red Head"; they needed no more victims, especially the blood of these innocent young men; and besides this was his father's captive and they had not consulted him. A majority favored the release, and after some discussion the Shawnee's action was sustained.

This unexpected termination of the affair produced some discord in the bands there assembled, and they separated. Holman

was taken back to Wapuccanatta, where he remained most of the time during his captivity. Rue was taken first to the Mississinewa and afterward to the Wabash. He spent two years of his captivity in the countries watered by the Wabash and Illinois rivers and their tributaries, and on the prairies—his accounts of which when he returned home were disbelieved.

The last months of his captivity Rue spent near Detroit. Here his attention was attracted by an Indian fortune teller who was performing with apparent good success. Rue and two other captives concluded to try his skill by interrogating him in regard to their families. So, when a private chance occurred, they held the consultation. The seer spread out a deer skin and covered it with enchanted sand; then, after looking steadily into the sand, he said he saw Rue's folks and gave their number, ages, and appearance with such accuracy as to almost convince Rue that he was a veritable wizard. Presently the seer remarked: "You all intend to make your escape—and you will effect it soon." He gazed again at the sand and concluded: "You will meet with many trials and hardships in passing over so wild a district of country, inhabited by so many hostile nations of Indians. You will almost starve to death; but about the time you have given up all hope of finding game to sustain you in your famished condition, succor will come when you least expect it. I see dimly the carcass of some wild animal taken as game. What it is I can't clearly see. It will be a masculine of some kind. After that you will find plenty of game, and you will all arrive safely at your homes." They denied all intentions or desire to escape, but told him as they had paid him for his professional services they would expect him to divulge only to them the vision he had in regard to their future. He kept his honor.

After awhile they found an opportunity to set out. They traveled as rapidly as possible during the night and remained in the swamps during the day, not daring to make a fire or shoot any game had they seen any. They could not catch even a frog from the stagnant pools around them. At dark they ventured forth and were guided in their journey by the stars or the moss on the north side of the trees, when the stars were not to be seen. The second day they could catch no game. Although Rue was well acquainted with the country, he dare not go to any of the hunting or fishing places for fear of being recaptured. Notwithstanding they were in Indian costumes, they greatly feared discovery, for the Indians must by this time be aware of their escape

and be on the search for them. On the third day, pressed with hunger, they decided that Rue should venture forth in quest of some game. He met with no success. They were now near the Wabash, which abounded with fine fish, but they did not attempt to spear any of them by torchlight, lest the light might betray their whereabouts.

The next day Rue returned from another fruitless expedition. They sat down and felt like giving up in despair. After a little while one of the other men said, "Let me try my luck or lack of luck once more." He took a gun and was soon out of sight. Not much expectation was raised as to his success, as his want of skill was well known to his companions. But in less than three hours he returned bearing a small buck, which he had killed and partly dressed. The prediction, or sight, or guess, of their oracle came to their minds now. "It is a masculine—after killing it you will find plenty of game, and you will arrive safely at your homes." They made a fire and broiled a portion and prepared more to be taken with them. At night they renewed their march.

Twenty days after they left Detroit they came in sight of the Ohio, about fifty miles above the falls. They made a raft and started for the (then) village of Louisville. Before they had floated half way their raft was dashed to pieces, and with difficulty they swam to the Kentucky shore, losing all the guns, blankets, etc. They struck out through the woods and soon reached Harrodsburg.

When the party which had taken Holman back to Wapuccanatta arrived there, much dissatisfaction was manifested in regard to his release from the sentence of death, pronounced against him. A new council was held and the party for acquittal prevailed by a majority of one. About three years and a half after Holman was taken prisoner a cessation of hostilities was had. The Indians were much reduced by the previous war. Holman offered, if they would give him a companion who knew the way, to go to the Falls of the Ohio and solicit the assistance of a rich uncle in securing them supplies. The necessities of the Indians induced them to accept his proposition, and with another prisoner and a young warrior he set out. They struck the Ohio above Louisville, swam the river and went to Louisville. General Clark, who was in command at that place, ransomed the two captives for a quantity of powder, lead, salt, etc., and Holman arrived at his home three days after the return of Rue.

The hardships to which Rue had been exposed caused him

to contract rheumatism, which afflicted him at times during the remainder of his life. For many years after Rue and Holman removed to Wayne county their old Indian relatives paid them annual visits and were always received with welcome and entertained with the greatest show of hospitality.

The ancestors of the Hoover family were German and had settled in Pennsylvania and Maryland, where they became Quakers. Andrew Hoover removed to North Carolina, where he remained until he came to the Northwest. All his children were born in North Carolina. On Sept. 19, 1802, Andrew Hoover, having sold his possessions, left Randolph county, North Carolina, with his family of four sons and six daughters, and started for the Northwest Territory. After five weeks' journeying they crossed the Ohio at the village of Cincinnati and pushed on to Stillwater, twelve miles north of Dayton. Not satisfied there, they removed the next spring to near Lebanon, until they could make further examinations. John Smith was also settled in that locality, with similar intentions. Says David Hoover: "Our object was to find a suitable place for making a settlement, and where but few entries had been made. But a small portion of the land lying west of the Great Miami, or east of the Little Miami, was settled at that time." They examined various parts of Ohio, and in company with John Smith and Robert Hill, David Hoover explored the southern part of Indiana, but returned unsatisfied.

David Hoover continues: "Thus time passed on until the spring of 1806, when myself and four others, rather accidentally, took a section line some eight or ten miles north of Dayton and traced it a distance of more than thirty miles through an unbroken forest to north from where Richmond now is. It was the last of February or the first of March when I first saw White Water. On my return to my father's I informed him I had found the country we had been in search of." In about three weeks David and his father, Jeremiah Cox, John Smith, and several others visited and examined the region. In May or June of that year, Andrew Hoover entered several quarter-sections north of Richmond and John Smith entered the section south from where is now Main street. The fall of the same year Jeremiah Cox's family reached here from North Carolina, and he purchased of Joseph Woodkirk the tract now occupied by the northern part of Richmond. This ground had been entered by John Meek, and the previous spring had been sold to Woodkirk.

Jeremiah Cox had entered several tracts of land, selected

when he first visited this locality. The farm which he purchased from Woodkirk had a small pole cabin on it and four acres cleared, fenced and planted to corn. They came by Eaton, which had been laid out the March previous. Several cabins were built and the streets were so full of logs and brush that it was difficult to pass along them. From here to the State line they followed the trail of some settlers on the headwaters of Elkhorn. Hence they had to cut out their road through the wilderness of trees, logs, brushes, weeds and nettles. Two roads were cut out by the settlers this year (1806), one along the route upon which they came, running where Main street now is. The other was cut to haul stones from the river to build Cox's chimney. It is said to have run west from one on Cox's south line. The first road extended toward the vicinity of where New Paris now is; it was the beginning of the road to Cincinnati and was made in that direction so as to connect with the road being constructed from the latter neighborhood to Cincinnati.

On March 31, 1807, Andrew Hoover and his family came. They halted on the bluff a little north from Griffith Mendenhall's residence (two miles northeast from the depot), in the midst of a snow storm. This snow covered the ground until April 10, when clearing was commenced. Several of the Hoover family came out when Jeremiah Cox moved, to build cabins and sow turnip seed. Later, the same season, came William Bulla, John Harvey, William Small, and perhaps some others. At this time there was in this vicinity the Elkhorn or Kentucky Settlement, spoken of on a previous page, and quite a number of families on the east fork of White Water, besides those around the site of Richmond. On the East Fork were the Flemings, Maxwells, Irelands, Hills, Wassons, Perviances, and Adams, along with others. Except Richard Maxwell, those named lived on the other side of the State line.

The family of Jeremiah Cox was the first of the Society of Friends settled in this country; Robert Smith's came soon after. The following autumn came John Smith, Frederick Hoover, and Elijah Wright. The road which had been cut to this place when Jeremiah Cox came out brought many land hunters to his house. He took pains to show them vacant lands, especially such as he thought would make good citizens, and charged nothing for his services or for board, taking compensation in the satisfaction of assisting in forming a virtuous community. For two or three years this neighborhood settled very rapidly.

"Jeremiah Cox, John Smith and my father," says David Hoover, "were then looked upon as leaders in the Society of Friends. Their location here had a tendency of drawing others, and soon caused a rush to White Water, and land that I thought hardly would ever be settled was rapidly taken up and improved. Had I a little more vanity I might almost claim the credit of having been the pioneer of the great body of Friends, now to be found in this region; as I think it very doubtful whether three yearly meetings would convene in this county had I not traced the line before mentioned."

In March, 1806, Charles Hunt and four sons—George, John, William, and Smith—left Clermont county, Ohio, for the purpose of settling in the White Water valley. They found an indistinct road as far as where is now Fair Haven, but they had to cut the rest of their way to Elkhorn. Here they arrived on the 10th of the month, and the next day they commenced building their cabin and finished it by evening. They had gone to work to clear five acres and plant it in corn. In the fall they built a more comfortable cabin and their family and others were brought out.

After clearing the ground and planting corn they commenced the construction of a mill. It was ready for cracking corn in August, but there was little corn to crack until the growing crop ripened. A large portion of the corn was badly frost bitten and people could not think of eating it. However, some were compelled to try it and it is said they got along pretty well. Hogs were fattened upon beech nuts.

Hunt's mill was on Elkhorn creek, about a mile from its mouth; it was covered by planting poles in the ground with forks at the upper ends to receive poles, upon which other poles, called ribs, were placed. On these clapboards were laid for the roof and on top weight poles to hold the boards in place. This sheltered the hopper and mill very well when there was no rain. Until this mill was put in operation the settlers had to pack their corn on horses to the Miami, or Brookville, to get it ground. There was no means of grinding it near home, except by hand mills or pounding the corn into hominy in the mortar. Mortars were constructed by burning out the hearts of trees or stumps until the caliber was sufficient to hold a peck or more of grain, according to the size of the family or wants of the neighborhood. One good hominy mortar, like a grindstone, generally served the neighborhood while it lasted.

The next mill was built by Jeremiah Cox in the valley, about

where the woolen factory (formerly Brightwell's Mill) is, in 1807. It was a "tub-mill," covered like Hunt's. The stones were two and one-half feet in diameter and the runner nine inches thick. It would grind two bushels per hour. William Bulla erected a similar mill on Middle Fork. Robert Comer erected one on East Fork and it was run by a never failing spring. It was the first mill sheltered in a log house.

To the list of mills may be added one built a few months after Comer's, by Jeremiah Cox, Jr., on Middle Fork. This was sheltered by a house made of poles, cut twenty feet long, and covered in the usual style. In a favorable stage of water it would grind two bushels of frost bitten corn per hour. The total value of Bulla's, Comer's, and this mill would probably not exceed $500.

A saw mill was built by Jeremiah Cox on the west side of the river and south of Newman's creek. Another was built on Elkhorn.

According to the record, the first entry of lands within this county was made by Peter Flemming and Joseph Wasson, in the winter of 1804; Rue and Holman also made entries this year. The next was by Andrew Endsley, in the summer of 1805, and by Peter Smith in the winter of the same year.

The first clearing of the ground now occupied by the city of Richmond was an opening made by Woodkirk, near where Jeremiah Cox built his brick house. It was a small piece. The next year, 1807, John Smith cleared several acres, bounded by a fence on the section line passing along where Main street now is, and on the west by another fence parallel with the direction of Front street. That year, ten acres were cleared north of Main street, on conditions that the laborers should have the proceeds of the land for twelve years. In the spring of 1807 a hurricane blew down much of the timber on the land that is north of the Main street section line. The "fallen timber" became a hiding place for wild cats, foxes, coons, and other small vermin, as well as various kinds of snakes, especially rattlesnakes. They were destroyed in great numbers when they would be gathering in for winter quarters along the river cliffs. Two or three years after this storm Jeremiah Cox hired William Cox and Jacob and Isaac Julian to clear a large piece of this ground.

During the summer of 1807 the settlers opened another road to Eaton, into Wayne's Trace which led to Hamilton. It was a nearer route to Cincinnati. "A county road," says Dr. Plummer in his notes, "was early established along the lands of Jeremiah Meek,

Alex Grimes, etc., down the hillside to Cox's mill, and thence up the ravine between Boathill and Buhl's brewery; the land on which Richmond stands then having no roads passing over it."

Among the many settlers who arrived during these earlier years, in addition to those already mentioned, can be named Andrew Endsley and Benjamin Jarvis, in 1806; Benjamin Small, John Alexander, Peter Flemming, Ephraim Overman, John Hawkins and Ralph Wright, in 1807; John Burgess, John Morrow, and John Townsend, in 1808; John Charles, Valentine Pegg, Andrew Morrow, and Michael Harvey, in 1809.

John Beard came to this county from North Carolina, in October of 1806. Foutz came with him from Germantown, Ohio. They had to come through the woods without any knowledge of the correctness of their course, except their supposition as to the location of the White Water country. They built a cabin and returned for their families. Beard's daughter Jane was the first white child that died in this county, in 1807. Dr. Sackett, the first physician, came in 1808. There is said to have been a fatal malignant fever prevailing along the East Fork about this time.

The following persons (nearly all Quakers) came some time during these years: Isaac Commons, Beale Butler, James Morrisson, Jesse Bond, William Harvey, John Hawkins, Jr., Benjamin Harris, David Bowles, James Townsend, Jacob Jessup, Amos Hawkins, Joseph, Robert and Stephen Comer, Benjamin Cox, Joshua Pickett, John Clark, Isaac Barberm, Rice Price, Nathan Pierson, David Baily, Robert Andrew, William Bond, Joseph Thornberry, Benjamin Morgan, Israel Elliott, Benjamin Maudlin, Lewis and William Hosier, William Hastings, David Baily, Sr., Christopher and Thomas Hill, Jasper Koons, Nathan Overman, Cornelius Ratliff, Sr., Samuel Charles, and John Pool, all of whom were here as early as 1810. At that time there were about sixty families and 350 persons in this neighborhood, belonging to the Society of Friends. They held meetings, as early as 1807 or 1808, in a log building belonging to and furnished with seats by Jeremiah Cox; Jesse Bond, John Morrow, and William Williams were early preachers. A few years later a meeting house was erected near where the "Orthodox Brick" now stands.

Indiana Territory was formed, in 1800, from that part of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio not comprised in the Territory (soon after State) of Ohio. Vincennes was made the capital and Gen. Willaim Henry Harrison was appointed governor. The new Territory was divided into three counties: Knox, covering most

of the present area of Indiana; St. Clair, nearly equal to the limits of Illinois; and Wayne, to Michigan. The estimated white population at this time was 4,875.

In 1802 two other counties were formed within the limits of the State of Indiana—Clark and Dearborn. The latter county was bounded on the east by the Ohio line and on the west by the Fort Recovery boundary. The county seat was at Lawrenceburg.

The settlers of this part of the county had little business at the county seat. Most of the difficulties, when any arose, were settled before Richard Rue, who was chosen justice of the peace and was the only one in this part of the Territory. The early elections were held at Rue's house. His house appears to have been the place of religious as well as political gatherings. Lazarus Whitehead, a Baptist preacher, often held service there. As was the custom of those times, many disputes arising between individuals were settled by wager of battle conducted with those "side arms" only as are furnished by nature. These contests were often followed by indictment and prosecution for assault and battery. For the benefit of those who think that the morals of our politics have not improved since that time it may not be uninstructive to state that it is said that at the first election more than a dozen fights took place.

In very early times a county road had been petitioned for and granted, and Jeremiah Cox was appointed supervisor. He started out to warn his hands to cut out the road, but was told that it would be just as the hands pleased about working, as they did not know that there was a legally appointed supervisor. In this emergency Cox hired Andrew Kennedy to ride to Lawrenceburg, for a certified copy of his appointment, with a legal order to open the road. After this nearly all agreed to do their portion of the work. This road ran in a north and south direction. North of Cox's land, where the Fountain City pike now runs, was a swamp of thirty or forty rods, which had to be "bridged," as it was termed. To accommodate the workers, Cox divided this ground into equal portions, designating each man's piece by number, so that he could readily find it. A few hands living at a distance neglected to make their portions and Jeremiah Cox, Jr., had to make much more than his share.

Isaac Julian taught a three-months school in the winter, about this time, in a cabin a little east from the position of Richmond. A debating society was formed and met in this school-house. Some of the debaters were Eli Overman, Isaac Julian, Henry Hoover, Joseph Holman, William Holman, and Asa Prevo.

Before 1809 there was but a very narrow strip of land in this part of the Territory, between the Ohio State line and the Fort Recovery boundary, granted to the whites at the treaty of Greenville. This strip is about eight miles wide in this latitude. The Fort Recovery line passed in Wayne county, a short distance east of Fountain City, along part of the western limit of Wayne township and a little west of the village of Abington. As early as 1807 nearly all of the land in this strip was taken up. On Sept. 30, 1809, at Fort Wayne, Governor Harrison made the "Twelve Mile Purchase." The line of this treaty runs southwest from Fort Recovery to the Mississippi river, thence nearly southward, at a distance of twelve miles from the Fort Recovery line, until it joins the line of the other grants on the boundary of Ripley county. A number of settlers moved on these lands even before they were surveyed.

Richard Rue and Ephraim Overman were elected Representatives for Dearborn county in the Territorial legislature, in 1809. They were re-elected the following year and John Templeton was elected as their colleague. They had long, tedious journeys of 200 miles, on horseback, through the forest, to Vincennes.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Ordinance of 1787 excluded slavery from the whole Northwest Territory, it was not long after the organization of Indiana Territory until its introduction was strongly advocated. Efforts were made to effect the repeal of the article in the Ordinance prohibiting it. The excitement ran high, and after several years' agitation this question was made the test in the election of a delegate to Congress on May 22, 1809. Thomas Randolph, a native of Virginia, was the candidate of the pro-slavery party, and Jonathan Jennings, of Pennsylvania birth (afterwards first Governor of the State), was supported by those opposed to the introduction of slavery. There were then four organized counties. In Knox and Harrison, the western counties, Mr. Randolph received 314 votes and Mr. Jennings, 66 votes; John Johnson received 81 votes in Knox. In the eastern counties—Dearborn and Clark—Mr. Randolph received 88 votes and Mr. Jennings received 362. Mr. Jennings was thus elected by a plurality of twenty-six.

The southern and western parts of the Territory were settled by immigrants from the Southern States, while the eastern portion was occupied, in part, by settlers from the free States. The canvass was heated and the vote close. The White Water Valley may claim credit for doing the noble work. Indeed, the honor

may be placed nearer home. The greater part of the inhabitants of the Territory was from the South and mostly in favor of slavery. The Eastern born inhabitants were opposed to the system. Now there had come out of the Slave States those who were wanting in faith and admiration for the peculiar institution, Quakers from North Carolina, and honest, hard-working yeomen from Kentucky and Virginia. In explanation of the position of the Quakers upon the subject of slavery, nothing need be said. Of some of the other class, James Daugherty, an early settler, says: "The Kentuckians were not of the half-horse, half-alligator stripe, but with very few exceptions were a moral, industrious, upright, kind people; and almost to a man anti-salvery."

These were the people who gave American slavery its first defeat. This action of Indiana exerted a controlling influence upon Illinois, which made a similar decision some years after. It is not a little strange that those who should first stop this giant's progress were those who had to flee from its blighting influence. And there seems somewhat of a poetic justice in the fact that it was at last slain by the children of those whom it had driven forth to toil or perish in the forests and on the prairies of the Northwest. But this adversity was the drill master that prepared for triumph; and that too, under the leadership of the son of a refugee.

In November, 1810, the northern part of Dearborn was formed into two new counties—Franklin and Wayne. The boundaries of Wayne county are given in "The Western Gazetteer or Emigrant's Directory," of 1817, as: "On the east by the State of Ohio, on the south by the county of Franklin, on the west and north by Indian Lands" (*i. e.* the Twelve Mile Purchase line).

Although Governor Harrison had the appointing power he gave the people the privilege of choosing their own officers. At an election held for this purpose, Peter Fleming, Jeremiah Meek, and Aaron Martin were elected judges; George Hunt, clerk, and John Turner, sheriff. At this or another early election Richard Rue was elected justice of the peace for the precinct in which he resided and John Cox for the district afterwards known as the Abington Precinct. George Hunt held his office on his farm about two miles east from where the village of Abington was afterward laid out.

County Court was held by the above named judges and county business was done before them. The minute book of this early court consisted of half a quire of old English paper, shaped

somewhat like a school copybook, without a cover. By this record it appears that the first court was held Feb. 25, 1811, at the home of Richard Rue. The three judges, clerk and sheriff were in attendance. James Noble (afterward one of the first United States Senators from Indiana) appeared as prosecuting attorney. The court first proceeded to divide the county into two townships and appoint constables, overseers of the poor, etc. For the first township, David Railsback and John Shaw were appointed overseers of the poor; Abraham Gaar, John Collins and Lewis Little, fence viewers. For the other township, David Gailbraith and George Smith, overseers of the poor; William Foutz, Nathaniel McClure and Robert Hill, fence viewers. The following persons appear to have been appointed as a committee to adjust the accounts of the overseers of the poor: David Carson, Timothy Hunt, Samuel Jobe, Jacob Meek, Elijah Fisher, and George Holman. The necessity of the court for a seal was met by "a wafer and a piece of paper turned over it, with the letters, *Wayne County*, written thereon."

The first session lasted but one day. The second meeting was on March 11, when a grand jury was impaneled for the first time. The persons composing it were: Jesse Davenport, David Foutz, Joseph Cox, Charles Wright, John Burk, Wright Lancaster, Robert Gailbraith, Isaac Williams, John Smith, Benjamin Small, John Burgess, William Blout, Michael Snider, Peter Weaver, Benjamin Harvey, Joshua Meek, John Beard, Benjamin Jarvis, James Gordon, Harvey Miller, Lewis Little, William Graham, and John Townsend—twenty-three in number.

About this time an accident occurred to George Holman. As has been already remarked, the pioneers were accustomed to submit difficulties to the arbitrament of single combat. It seems that George Holman, who previous to and ever after that time, lived peaceably with all men "within the forest shades," indulged in this custom. The grand jury found a bill against him for assault and battery. He was returned guilty and fined twelve and one-half cents. He appears to have been one of the grand jury at this same time. Whether he aided in finding a bill against himself or not the record does not say. The persons on this jury were: William Sacre (foreman), Samuel Woods, Thomas McCoy, J. Keslank, George Holman, J. Hodges, Samuel Walker, Richard Maxwell, Bennett Starr, Robert Bennett, John Williams, Aaron Wade, John Addington, William Meek, Isaac Harvey, Delsuan Bates, Josiah Easton, Jod. Woodkirk and William Burk.

This is said to have been the first petit jury trial on our records. The names of the jury who sat upon Holman's case were as follows: John Benton, John Drake, John Armstrong, Nathaniel Scire, Thomas Bulla, Samuel Hunt, Harvey Druley, David F. Sacket, Joel Furgison, Benjamin Smith, and Jesse Davenport.

The Territorial laws provided for a court of criminal and civil jurisdiction in each county, the first term of which was held in Wayne county at the house of Rue on June 17, 1811. Benjamin Parke, who had been appointed to a seat on the supreme judiciary bench of the Territory some years before, was in attendance. The records, kept on a single sheet of foolscap, say:

"At a Court of Nisi Prius, Oyer and Terminer, and general jail delivery, held at the house of Richard Rue, Esq., in and for said County of Wayne, on the 17th of June, 1811. Present the Hon. Benj. Parke, Judge."

The court is said to have adjourned from the house to a log in the edge of the woods, where the session was held, the grand and traverse juries retiring in different directions to discharge their several duties. A grand jury and also a traverse jury were impaneled.

The members of the grand jury were: Joseph Cox, foreman, and Isaac Williams, William Townsend, Samuel Jobe, John Starr, Timothy F. Hunt, Shadrie Henderson, John Meek, Sr., Thomas Addington, John Pool, Benjamin Maudlin, Nathan Pierson, David Bailey, John Morrow, Jasper Kontz, John Hawkins, Sr., David Bales, Stephen Comer, John Clark, William Bulla, Amos Hawkins, and William Price.

The traverse jury consisted of Henry Hoover, James Morrison, Jacob Griffin, James Jacobs, John Ireland, John Stephens, Andrew Endsley. Henry Hoover was the last surviving member of these juries.

The first and only case on trial was the United States vs. James Pettit, a boy living in the family of Henry Byran. The boy was charged with stealing a Barlow knife from John Smith, who was keeping a store on the ground since occupied by Richmond. He was found guilty and sentenced to pay to Smith twelve and one-half cents (value of knife), to the Territory twenty-five cents and costs, all of which appear to have been promptly paid.

An incident took place at this trial which will do to repeat. The Territorial courts practiced under the forms of the English Common Law, with its prolix expressions and redundancy of terms. The indictment in this case was drawn up by James Dill,

an Englishman, and a stickler for old forms. He had alleged in this instrument "that the said James Pettit, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and being moved and instigated thereunto by the devil, did then and there wickedly, unlawfully and feloniously, with force and arms, steal, take and carry away," etc.

Dill being absent, Henry Hoover was selected to manage the case. He accordingly read the indictment, emphasizing the terrible words. Jeremiah Cox, who seems to have been on the jury, though his name does not appear on the list, remarked with his peculiar simplicity, "That he believed the boy stole the knife, but did not think it was so bad; the indictment was rather too bold for so slight an offence."

The court was styled "general jail delivery," which sounds singular, since there was no jail in the county. A story is told of Squire John Cox punishing a witness, guilty of contempt, by ordering his neck to be put under the corner of a rail fence. The offender was strong and threw off the weight. Cox had him put under again and directed three men to sit upon the fence.

During the year 1811 preparations were made for establishing a permanent county seat. By an act of the Territorial legislature which organized Wayne county, "John Cox, George Holman and John Adenton, Gentlemen," were appointed commissioners to meet and locate the county seat on or before "the first Monday of the following May." Until the court house should be completed, the court was to continue meeting at Esquire Rue's. At the June term, 1811, the commissioners appointed by the act of the legislature having failed to discharge their duty according to law, in selecting a seat of justice for the county, the court declared their duties ended and appointed in their stead Samuel Walker, Richard Maxwell and Benjamin Harris. These new commissioners were directed to proceed immediately to the business assigned. On the third day of the term they reported "that the permanent seat of justice is and shall be on the donation of Samuel Woods, of sixty-five acres in the 13th township, range 3, with a small reserve." The court ordered the report to be entered as it was received by the clerk, "that the town in Wayne, or the seat of justice, shall be called Salisbury." The ground thus selected is situated on a hill, a short distance south from the National Road and two and a quarter miles west from the bridge at Richmond. Having secured

"A local habitation and a name,"

the next thing to do was to make their town cease to be "airy nothings" and become a reality. Accordingly, Smith Hunt, Sam-

uel Woods and James Brown were appointed trustees to lay off the lots, and Andrew Woods and John Meek, Sr., to superintend the building of a jail and estray pen, under the direction of the court. There is no record of any order for the erection of a court house. But a minute of the October session of 1811, says:

"At a County Court held at the house of Richard Rue, Esq., on the 28th of October, 1811, is opened, etc., and the court having been previously informed that the court house was raised, the court therefore adjourned to sit one hour in the court house in the town of Salisbury. Accordingly the court met at court house in town of Salisbury in the county of Wayne on the aforesaid 28th day of October and proceeded," etc.

The lots were laid off the following May. A log court house and a log jail were built as soon as the town was located. Afterward, a brick court house was erected. Great was the expectations and a high destiny was prophesied and anticipated for the new village. The following description, in the handwriting of George Hunt, the clerk, is on the back of the record plat:

"The town of Salisbury stands on a beautiful site on the waters of Clear creek, Wayne county, Indiana Territory, in a fine neighborhood, environed by rich land, etc., etc. There is no better water in the world; the air is salubrious; and its elevated situation commands an extensive and beautiful prospect. And we flatter ourselves that in a few years, Art, with her sister, Industry, will convert it from a forest to a flourishing inland town. Several gentlemen of property have purchased lots, both in the mercantile and mechanical line, which will greatly enhance its value."

The records of the courts held in this place for several succeeding years are preserved, but contain few items of interest now, and those that are may be condensed into the following synopsis:

The second term of the court, having criminal and civil jurisdiction, was held at Salisbury, June 25, 1813—James Scott, judge. Four criminal and five civil cases were on docket, though for some reason it was not shown that any business was transacted. James Noble, James Dill, and Elijah Sparks are lawyers whose names appear on the docket.

Third term: Oct. 31, 1814. Elijah Sparks, judge. Order book says, "that as Col. George Hunt has been appointed clerk of the court and has not been sworn into office, and as there is no one to swear the jury, the court stands adjourned."

Nothing in the records show who were clerk and sheriff previous to this, but from other sources it is known that Hunt was

chosen to the former and Turner to the latter office, as formerly mentioned.

Fourth term: January, 1815. Sparks, judge, with Fleming and Martin, associates; Hunt, clerk, and Turner, sheriff. Several criminal cases disposed of. First suit ever tried: viz., Thomas Neley vs. Christopher Roddy and wife. John Test, Amos Lane, William Hendricks, and Edmond J. Vawter, admitted to practice. Hon. Joseph Holman, a member of the jury, was the last survivor of those who figured in this court.

Fifth term: March, 1815. James Noble, judge. Nothing of interest done. Robert Harvey, afterwards of Hendricks, and Absalom Williams, of Wayne county, were the last survivors of the grand jury.

Sixth term: October, 1815. James Noble, judge, with Fleming and David Hoover, associates. Stephen C. Stephens admitted to practice.

Seventh term: March, 1816. Jesse L. Holman, judge; Fleming and Hoover, associates. At this term was tried the case of Henry Chryst for the murder of Chambers. The jurors trying this case were: Richard Lewis, David Noland, John Brattan, John Patterson, Caleb Harvey, Jacob Meek, John Steward, Lewis Hosier, William Clawson, Michael Neiss, John Small, and Balden Ashley. John Test assisted the prosecuting attorney, and James Noble defended.

The circumstances of this case were these: There seems to have been some ill feeling existing between Chryst and his son-in-law, Chambers, arising from complaints made by his daughter that Chambers neglected to provide for her. It seems that Chambers' wife had gone to her father's house (on the east side of Noland's Fork, eight miles southwest from Centerville). Chambers came here and his wife refused to return with him. Chambers accused her parents of inciting her to leave him. This they denied and a fierce altercation ensued. Chryst becoming enraged, seized a gun and threatened to shoot Chambers. Knowing the violent temper of Chryst, all cried out for Chambers to run. He did, but Chryst raised the gun and fired. The ball passed through Chambers' body and he fell dead some six or eight rods from the house.

Chryst is said to have been a man of violent passions and at times allowed them to get complete control of him. Otherwise he appeared an honorable, high-minded man. When he found what he had done he went to Justice Joseph Flint and confessed his

guilt. He was committed to the circuit court. His trial came off at the time mentioned. During the trial he bore himself nobly. His family had to give evidence against him. His son, quite a lad, was the most important prosecuting witness. While being examined by the prosecuting attorney the boy showed much emotion and hesitated in answering, knowing that his father's fate depended upon his testimony. Perceiving his hesitancy, Chryst said: "Tell the truth, my boy, though it should hang your father, speak the truth." Intense excitement prevailed in the court room and deep sympathy was felt for the unhappy boy. Chryst was found guilty of murder in the first degree and the death sentence was passed upon him.

After the trial he was taken back to the little log jail at Salisbury. He might have made his escape at almost any time, had he not felt too great a sense of honor to make the effort. He was hanged on the public square in Salisbury, April 1, 1816. A large concourse of people witnessed the execution. John Turner was still sheriff at that time. Chryst's son stood nobly by his father to the last and then conveyed the remains, alone, on a small sled, over an almost impassable mud road, to his home, which he reached late at night.

This was the first execution in this county and the murder and trial created great excitement. In June and October of 1816, sessions of Court were held. The same officers were present. These were the last terms under the Territorial Government.

In thus following up the account of the courts many events which occurred during the years named have been passed over. Before continuing the history of Salisbury it will be proper to devote some attention to the Indian troubles and the war of 1812.

When settlement was commenced in the Upper White Water country all the land in Indiana belonged to the Indians, except the small strip east of the Fort Recovery boundary, a tract around the town of Vincennes, another near the Falls of the Ohio, a small one where Fort Wayne stands, and two other small ones on the Wabash, between Fort Wayne and Vincennes.

The land in and around Wayne county was occupied by the Delawares and Shawnees. The former first appear prominently in American history as the tribe with whom William Penn made his famous treaty. They lived at that time on the banks of the river which bears their name, but the rapid settlement of the English in Eastern Pennsylvania compelled them to move west to the Alleghany mountains. They settled first on the Muskingum

and afterwards removed to Indiana and occupied the land along the banks of White river. At the time Wayne county's settlement commenced they were collected on the upper courses of White and Blue rivers.

The Shawnees were a restless, quarrelsome tribe, more warlike than their neighbors, and may well be termed the "Ishmaelites of America." According to their traditions they had quarreled with nearly every tribe from New York to Florida and had wandered over the territory east of the Mississippi. They had no lands of their own, but attached themselves to such tribes as would grant them foothold, and there remain until they fell out, then the best party retained possession. The Shawnees were as often vanquished as victors. They never stayed in the presence of a conqueror, but sought new friends to test their hospitality or new foes to tempt their prowess. At the time of the English colonization of North America they were found among the tribes northwest of the Ohio river, where soon the emergencies of their hosts gave them occasion to exert their energy against the common enemy, the "Paleface." After the treaty of Greenville they were still dwelling with the tribes in this part of the country. Large numbers of them came to central Indiana and were on friendly terms with the neighboring Delawares and Miamis.

The Miamis had their villages on Wabash and Mississinewa rivers. They were originally a large confederacy and claimed the lands now embraced in the entire State of Indiana and the western half of Ohio. But as the advance of the whites compelled the Indians to seek hunting grounds farther west, the Miamis relinquished much of their broad possessions to the unfortunate brethren.

The Wyandottes, a tribe originally from Upper Canada, were living on the lands about the headwaters of the Wabash and Miami rivers and towards Lake Erie.

The Indians in this part of Indiana Territory were friendly toward the pioneers of White Water. They frequently passed through this country on their way to trade at Cincinnati and Hamilton. When John Smith opened his store, in a log house on the site of Richmond (near the west end of Market street), the Indians purchased large quantities of corn, ammunition, etc., from him. For several years the settlers got along agreeably with the Indians, who frequently came among them. They were considerably annoyed, however, by begging Indians. After the Fort Wayne Treaty, in 1809, which resulted in the cession of large

tracts of land to the Government, part of which was the "Twelve Mile Purchase," trouble was anticipated.

The genius of Tecumseh and the craft of his brother, the Prophet, did much to arouse hostile feelings towards the whites among most of the Northwest tribes. Undoubtedly the Indians had been wronged in the treatment which they had received from the whites, but since the treaty of Greenville (1795) there had been comparative peace and it seemed to be the desire of both parties that it continue. Early in 1805 Tecumseh and the Prophet were residing at one of the Delaware towns on White river (now within the limits of Delaware county). Here the Prophet began the enunciation of his principles and proclaiming his mission. Much excitement and dissension followed, and the next year they removed their headquarters to Greenville, Ohio, to which place they were accompanied by a small band of Shawnees. In the spring of 1808 they again removed to the banks of the Wabash, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe. Their settlement here was afterwards called the "Prophet's Town."

Tecumseh traveled much during the years following their leaving the Delawares for the purpose of inciting the Indians in the Northwest, West and Southwest to band against the whites. His brother seemed occupied in gathering together followers at his town.

The sale of more land to the United States Government, by the treaty of Fort Wayne, furnished a pretext for complaint for Tecumseh's use. He frequently visited Governor Harrison at Vincennes and expressed dissatisfaction at the acts of the Government and complained much of their injustice.

Continued complaints and rejection of peaceful overtures, followed soon after by acts of violence, determined Governor Harrison to take decisive steps against the combination at the Prophet's Town, as he strongly suspected it to be encouraged by British agents. He therefore marched against the town, and on Nov. 7, 1811, signally defeated the Indians on the banks of the Tippecanoe river.

This battle and the prospects of war with Great Britain alarmed the inhabitants of Indiana and they turned their attention to means of defense.

In the spring of 1812, Governor Harrison directed the frontier to be prepared for the threatened hostilities. Block houses and picketed forts were erected along the borders of Knox county, on the branches of White river, eastward of Vincennes, and in Harri-

son county. The propriety of erecting similar posts of defense on the frontiers of Clark, Jefferson, Dearborn, Franklin, and Wayne counties was to be determined by disposition of the Delaware Indians. Said the Governor:

"Means will be taken to ascertain this disposition as soon as possible and the result communicated. The Indians who profess to be friendly have been warned to keep clear of the settlements; and the commander-in-chief is far from wishing that the citizens should run any risk by admitting any Indians to come among them, whose designs are in the least equivocal. He recommends, however, to those settlements which the Delawares have frequented, as much forbearance as possible toward this tribe, because they have ever performed, with punctuality and good faith, their engagements with the United States, and, as yet, there is not the least reason to doubt their fidelity. It is also certain that if they should be forced to join the other tribes in the war, from their intimate knowledge of the settlements upon the frontiers, they would be able to do more mischief than any other tribe."

On June 18, 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain. During the preceding month a grand council, at which nearly all the Northwestern tribes were represented, was held on the Mississinewa. The tone of the speeches was favorable to the preservation of peace with the United States Government. All denounced the actions of the Prophet, no difficult thing to do, as that schemer was now defeated and a fugitive. The Wyandottes and Miamis were friendly to the Americans and the Delawares went so far as to defend the intentions of the Government. The other tribes were hypocritical in their profession and soon after the commencement of hostilities were upon the warpath. Tecumseh, himself, was at the council, endeavoring to explain his brother's conduct and regain his own influence. He went away dissatisfied and in a few weeks joined his fortunes with the British, at Malden, and fell in the battle on the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813. The Shawnees waited until their corn ripened and then part of them followed their illustrious chief.

As has been said, the Indians in this neighborhood were friendly and no fears of trouble had been entertained until after the battle of Tippecanoe. The Indians were often trading with the whites at Salisbury and along the White Water. About this time a man named Samuel Carr got into a quarrel with one of a party of trading Indians and foolishly followed them, when a scuffle ensued, in which Carr shot his opponent. The Indian did not die, but his

tribe felt very resentful for this occurrence. Shortly after this affair, a pretty little light haired girl, named Lydia Tharp, daughter of Boaz Tharp, was stolen from near the present site of Milton. This created much excitement. Nearly the whole country turned out to search for her, but no trace of her could be found. Ten years afterward she was seen at an Indian encampment on the Wabash. She was married to an Indian, and when an effort was made to get her she was secreted, and never again was seen by the whites.

A great panic was caused by a white man killing an Indian whom he suspected of robbing him. This took place near Salisbury and the people were in great apprehension that the Indians would undertake to avenge the death of their comrade. The murderer fled to Kentucky and nothing serious resulted from his rash act.

Early in 1812 Governor Harrison visited this county for the purpose of warning the citizens and having them prepare for the coming war. He reviewed the militia at Beeler's, a few miles south from the present site of Richmond. This review was witnessed by some thirty or forty Indians. They were the last large body of red men seen in this county until after the war.

The reverses which the American arms suffered in the West during the summer and fall of 1812 inspired the hostile Indians to commence a general assault along the Indiana frontier, first at Fort Harrison (Terre Haute), then at the "Pigeon Roost Settlement" (Scott county), Fort Wayne, and elsewhere. This state of affairs threw the Wayne county people into great excitement. Several block houses were hastily built for the protection of the various neighborhoods. Hon. Joseph Holman, who moved on the "Purchase" in 1810, speaking of this period says:

"The Indian warfare commenced in our midst. We were all thrown into confusion, some killed, some ran away, some remained, built block houses and continued during the war. Captains Holman, Whitehead, and Farlow were placed (and built forts) on the line of Wayne county, then the Indian boundary. Most of those who were left had to serve three months' tours, under the order of the Government, then returning to their block houses, having to kill game, such as they could find, to support their families, having spies to watch for them; this was worse than grinding on hand mills. Many nights were spent watching the port holes to keep the Indians from the fort."

Great terror seemed to prevail for a time among the settlers in the "Twelve Mile Purchase." David Hoover says:

"The settlers mostly left their locations and removed to places of more security. Those who remained built forts and block houses. The settlers in this neighborhood mostly stood their ground, but suffered considerably with fear. George Sugart then lived where Newport (Fountain City) now stands, some miles from any other settlement. In the language of the Friends, he 'did not feel clear' in leaving his home, and he manfully stood his ground, unmolested, except by those whom we then styled the 'Rangers,' from whom he received some abuse for his boldness."

Among the block houses erected in this county can be mentioned Rue's and Meek's stations on the east branch of White Water. One mile below the site of Abington was a block house, enclosed with pickets. On the west branch of White Water there was Lewis's Station above the Walnut Level. Still further west was Jenneys' Station. At the upper end of the Walnut Level was Martindale's Station, a large block house with pickets. On the Walnut Level, below this one, was a stockade fort known as Boyd's Station. All these stations were furnished with troops by Col. George Hunt. There was a line of block houses near the Indian boundary, to protect the sparsely settled country, and also several in the more settled part. Families near each other generally made preparation for mutual protection. On an average, it may be said, every fourth house was so strengthened as to be equal to block houses. Part of the men remained to guard the forts, while the others marched to meet the enemy, under officers of their own choosing.

Across the State line the settlers were also called out to defend the forts along that part of the frontier. Besides Greenville, there were Forts Nesbit and Black and perhaps one other, in Darke county, Ohio. Greenville and Piqua were important rendezvous.

When General Harrison was appointed to command the Northwest army, after the surrender of Hull at Detroit, he called upon the Wayne county regiment for one company to join the expedition north. This regiment, styled the Eighth, was commanded by George Hunt, colonel, and Smith Hunt and James Brown, majors. The required company was organized and marched as far as Piqua, when the Indians commenced depredations upon the frontier of Wayne county. The company petitioned General Harrison that they might be returned and be stationed in this part of the country. The petition was granted and they returned to protect the border of this county.

The Indians stole a number of horses from the settlers and killed three men in the western part of the county. These murders produced considerable dismay throughout the entire country and admonished those on the frontier to retire to their places of safety, for they did not stay in them all the time, but only during seasons when danger was apprehended. Maj. Smith Hunt says: "I spent the entire summer of 1813 finding my own horse and provisions, in raising troops and arranging to protect the frontier. But not having been enrolled in the regular army I could not derive any pay under the pension laws."

There lived in Green's Fork about the commencement of the war a Delaware Indian named "Johnny Green." He is said to have been a man of more than ordinary talents and ferocity, shrewd but of ill disposition. When drunk he would brag of killing palefaces in Kentucky. He appears to have lived very near the whites for the greater part of his life and to have been frequently among them. His drunken babblings and his crafty ability gave him an unenviable reputation, which, together with his known influence in his tribe, made him a personage to be feared.

Early in 1813 a scouting party, reconnoitering the frontiers, approached the Indian town of Blue River. The inhabitants of this town were at peace with the whites. Johnny Green happened to be there and requested the scouting party to let him accompany it to the white settlements. His request was granted and a promise was given that he should not be injured. But no sooner had they got fairly beyond the reach of his friends than they bound him, and some even insisted on taking his life then and there. He was finally taken to the house of Col. George Hunt, where a number of men assembled to decide on his punishment. There was much division of opinion and a conflict seemed near at hand. The tribe to which Green belonged was on peaceable terms with the Americans, and as yet Green had done nothing to interrupt the existing friendly relations. Notwithstanding this, the majority was for immediate death. Thomas McCoy and a few others were stoutly opposed to this treacherous and inhuman decision. Finding their remonstrances unavailing, to prevent the wanton act, in defiance of his opposers, McCoy cut the rope which bound Green, mounted him on his horse behind him, and carried the warrior beyond the reach of his more savage captors.

A settler named Charles Morgan was present. He was an unrelenting hater of the Indians and on this occasion was clamorous for blood. Shortly after this (March 10, 1813) Morgan and his

two half-brothers went to boil sugar water near Martindale's Station. Next morning they were found dead, scalped, and one of them had been thrown into the fire.

Some time previous to this murder a young man named Shortridge was shot three miles southwest from Boyd's block house. He wore at the time parts of the dress of a George Ish, who had indulged in threats against the Indians, and it is supposed that Shortridge was mistaken for that man. The murder of the Morgans following created great terror and numbers fled from the frontier. But it was evident the Indians intended to harm only such as they thought hostile to them. "Candor compels me to say," writes David Hoover, "that, as is usually the case, we Christians were the aggressors."

Early in the existence of the Territorial government the Society of Friends had memorialized the legislature for an amendment of the law imposing fines for not mustering, so as to exclude religious societies conscientiously opposed. After the battle of Tippecanoe they were re-enacted with great severity. A large part of the settlers of the White Water Valley were Quakers and the war brought them trouble. Until then no notice had been taken of the differences of faith among the settlers. All shades of opinion lived together harmoniously and rendered each other such neighborly assistance, as was customary among pioneers. But the breaking out of the war demonstrated the fact that Quakers would not bear arms, and their refusal caused them to be characterized as "Tories."

During the winters of 1812-13-14 the poor settlers who refused to leave their families exposed on the extreme border had their axes, plows, and farm implements taken by the officers and deposited in a building at Salisbury, and when more room was wanted the articles on hand were sold.

Some were drafted and their property taken as fines; at the next call drafted again, fined or taken to jail, as though a man lying idle in prison, when the country was already drained by war, was of service to the community. Four young men were thrown into the county jail during the inclement cold weather. Fire was denied them until they should comply, and had it not been for the kind heartedness of David F. Sackett, who handed them hot bricks through the grates, they would have suffered severely. Suit was afterward brought for false imprisonment. The trials were held at Brookville, Franklin county. Damages were recovered.

In December, 1815, the Territorial delegate, Mr. Jennings, pre-

sented a memorial to Congress, asking that an election be ordered for a constitutional convention. An election was held on May 13, 1816, and four members of the convention were elected from Wayne county, viz: Jeremiah Cox, Patrick Baird, Joseph Holman, and Hugh Cull. The last named was placed on the anti-slavery ticket to secure the vote of the Methodists, in which denomination he was a local preacher. The anti-slavery candidates were elected with little or no opposition. Wayne county had 1,225 white males of twenty-one and upward, and 6,407 inhabitants, being sixth in number of population.

On the first Monday in August, 1816, a general election was held for State and county officers. Patrick Baird was elected State senator, Ephraim Overman, John Scott and Maj. James Brown, representatives. The last named died before he took his seat and Joseph Holman was chosen to fill the vacant place. David Hoover was elected clerk; John Turner, sheriff; and Thomas J. Warman, James O'Dell, and Thomas Beard, commissioners. These commissioners met for the first time, Feb. 10, 1817, and divided the county into five townships: Washington, Jackson, Perry, New Garden, and, apparently having exhausted their knowledge of appropriate names, dubbed the remaining one by the same name as the county—Wayne. They appointed John Beard as treasurer.

As the war was drawing to a close steps were taken to build a town near the banks of Noland's Fork, and on Oct. 20, 1814, the village of Centerville was surveyed and platted by Henry Byran, on land donated by Israel Elliott and Ethan Stone. The sale of lots took place the next year. The first lot was bid in by Christopher Roddy, an old soldier under Wayne, who claimed that privilege in consideration of having named the place. Isaac Julian purchased the "corner" where the American House formerly stood.

The new town being three miles nearer the geographical center of the county, it became a successful rival of Salisbury. (Those were times when railroad connections and the aggregation of inhabitants had not rendered geographical centers unimportant considerations.) The subject of removing the county seat soon began to be warmly discussed. The legislature passed an act, Dec. 21, 1816, ordering the county seat to be removed to Centerville.

The first term of the Wayne Circuit Court under the State Constitution was held at Salisbury, March 17. John Test was judge and William McLane and Jesse Davenport, associates. At this term there were seventeen prosecutions, fifteen of them for

fighting. The men of those days seem to have continued the pugilistic method of arbitration long after the establishment of the courts. Perhaps many of these cases grew out of the discussion of the antagonistic claims of Salisbury and Centerville to the court house.

On Aug. 11, 1817, the Board of Commissioners adjourned from Salisbury to Centerville, Warman dissenting, however. Before the county seat could be legally removed the trustees of Centerville were to erect, without expense to the county, a court house, jail, and estray pen in that town, on or before Aug. 1, 1817, of the same dimensions and as well finished as those at Salisbury. Failing to do this the county seat was to remain where it was. Short as the period was, the buildings were up in time, some citizens of Centerville subscribing $1,000 to $1,500.

The October term of 1817 was held in Salisbury. Associate Judges Davenport and McLane only were present, and as the docket shows, "After consultation, the court being equally divided, as it respects the place of holding the courts in said county, it is therefore considered that all causes be continued until court in course." This is the first allusion on record to the vexed question of the location of the county seat.

The March (1818) term of the Circuit Court was held in Centerville, in a little log house on the north side of Main street. Courts were held in Centerville the next two terms without any opposition, as far as the records show. However, at the February term of 1819 (held at Centerville), the question was brought before the court whether Salisbury or Centerville was the legal county seat. John Watts was presiding judge. On the meeting of the court the first day, Daniel J. Caswell moved an adjournment, because, says the record, "Some doubts being entertained as to the propriety of sitting at Centerville, in the county of Wayne, and that the court and parties may take the matter under mature deliberation, the Court stand adjourned until to-morrow."

Next morning the Court said: "The subject being now submitted to the Court, and solemn argument having been heard on both sides, the Court decides and determines that the seat of justice was permanently established at Salisbury and that the act of Dec. 21, 1816, not having a sufficient repealing clause, had not removed it; but the act of Jan. 28, 1818, authorized the court to hold their *pro tempore* sessions at Centerville, until the legislature should otherwise direct." The legislature never otherwise directed, so there the matter rested.

Shortly after this decision Samuel Woods, the grantor of the land upon which Salisbury was built, brought suit to recover the grant, claiming that the condition of the donation was forfeited, as Salisbury had ceased to be the seat of justice. The suit was two years in the United States court before judgment was rendered. Meanwhile, Salisbury was rapidly depopulating. The public business gone, nobody cared to remain, and the suit met little opposition. The United States marshal came and gave Woods possession, moving out for the time the remaining residents. The court house was taken down and the bricks were used in the "Ham Building." Many other houses were removed to Richmond.

Thus ended the brief career of Salisbury, not without angry and bitter contentions, which did not die until long after Salisbury was a cornfield. At the height of the contest, the ill feeling between the two parties was so great that when any of them met it was almost sure to result in a fight. No citizen of either place would visit the other unless he was bully enough to run the risk of having to whip the whole town. Even the children would take up the quarrel. Men of opposing sentiments would not work together. An old citizen tells of a man who hired some Centerville men to do the masonry about his new house, and some Salisbury men to do the carpentering. A quarrel arose between them and Salisbury drove Centerville from the field, and the work was not finished for months. At elections and musters the hostile spirit was plainly evinced. Men of one party would open their barrels of whiskey and invite all who agreed with them to partake freely and without price, but strongly intimated to those of the opposite opinion, that they, though "confined to fast in fires," should not have one drop to cool their tongues. An enthusiastic citizen of Salisbury declared that it was destined to be another Moscow. This expression was received with so much jeer by the opposite party that the term "Moscow" bade fair to supplant that of Salisbury for a while. But both are now nearly forgotten.

While these contentions were going on in the years of 1816, 1817, and 1818, Richmond was laid out and was being settled. Salisbury seems to have been pulled down to build the new town on the east bank of the White Water.

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNSHIP HISTORY.

LOCATION—BOUNDARIES—FORMATIONS—EARLY SETTLERS.

ABINGTON TOWNSHIP.

Abington township was formed in 1837. The land was originally a part of both Washington and Wayne townships. The eastern part of the township was settled very early. Among the earliest settlers was John Endsley, formerly from South Carolina, who settled on John's creek in the eastern part of the township in 1806. His brother, Abraham Endsley, came with him and settled on the White Water river, a mile from the mouth of the Elkhorn. In 1806, John Cox, from Kentucky, purchased the land where the present town of Abington is located. He died in 1811 and his death is said to have been the first in the limits of the township.

In 1807, Charles Hunt, from North Carolina, settled in the southeast part of the present township. His son, George, was the first surveyor in the county and the first clerk of the county court.

Other early settlers in the limits of the township were Henry Fender, Gabriel Fender, Thomas Moffitt, Thomas Bradbury, David Carson, John Wright, John Hunt (the first blacksmith and gunsmith), William Dye, James Lamb, and William Jarrett. On the land of Thomas Moffitt was built one of the forts constructed during the war of 1812 as a means of protection against the Indians.

The western and central parts of the township constitute good level or slightly rolling agricultural lands. On the east, the east branch of the White Water river passes through it. This section is hilly, but the valley land is rich. The township is touched by the Elkhorn branch, Butler creek, and a number of other smaller streams which give a necessary water supply.

The township lies in the southern tier and is the central one, it being seven miles to the western line of the county and six

miles to the eastern line. It is bounded on the north by Center township and a corner of Boston; on the east by Boston township; on the south by Union county and one mile of Fayette, and on the west by Washington township. It has an area of 14,080 acres.

Among the early industries established was a carding machine, erected at the mouth of the Elkhorn by Richard Sedgwick and Smith Hunt. A carding and fulling mill was erected by John Brower, about 1824, and the first grist mill was erected on the east fork of White Water, a little below the mouth of the Elkhorn, in 1808.

One of the earliest villages of the county, Bethlehem, was located on the southwest corner of section 24, but it ceased to exist long ago.

Abington, on the west bank of the east fork of the White Water river, was laid out, in 1817, by John and Joseph Cox. It was platted Dec. 5, and the certificate of the survey was recorded Nov. 5, 1818. The first merchant in Abington was Moses Cox. A saw mill was built by Thomas Manning. The first wagon maker was John Gilbert; the first resident physician that practiced in the township was W. J. Matchett, in 1828. The first church to be established was the Methodist Episcopal, which was organized at an early date; the United Brethren was organized about 1818.

BOSTON TOWNSHIP.

Boston township lies in the southeast corner of the county and was formed from Wayne township in 1835. It was very early settled. Peter Weaver settled in the northwest part of the township in 1807; John Collins also settled in the limits of the township in the same year. Among other early settlers were James Lamb (a native of Scotland), Aaron Martin, Jackson Rambo, Abraham Gaar, Lazarus Whitehead, Hugh Cull, Isaac Beeson, Robert Grimes, Wright Lancaster, Fielding Gaar, William Williams, Daniel Hart, Jesse Davenport, William Jones, Jacob Keesling, Joshua Benton, James Holman, John Jordan, Daniel Shaffer, William Holman, Thomas Wyatt, John Miller, Isaac Esteb, Joel Moore, and Samuel Jobe. The first grist mill was built by Charles Hunt, in 1807, about a mile above the mouth of the Elkhorn. A Baptist church was formed in 1806 or 1807, and the first preacher was Lazarus Whitehead. The Friends formed a society soon after the Baptists and built a log meeting house about two

and one-fourth miles north of Boston. A Methodist Episcopal church was established about 1807 or 1808, and Hugh Cull, mentioned above, was a Methodist minister.

The town of Boston was laid out and the plat and survey recorded in 1832.

The township is bounded on the north by Wayne township, on the east by the Ohio State line, on the south by Union county and on the west by Abington and a portion of Center township. The southeast part of the township is nearly level. On each side of the Elkhorn for two miles it is hilly.

CENTER TOWNSHIP.

Center township was formed in August, 1817. One of the first settlers in the limits of the township was Daniel Noland, for whom Noland's Fork was named. He settled about four miles southwest of Centerville. The township is watered principally by Noland's Fork and its tributaries. Other early settlers were Isaac Julian, Nathan Overman, Thomas McCoy, Joseph W. Jackson, Robert Commons, Caleb Jackson, Greenbury Cornelius, Axium Elliott, Joseph Holman, Walter Roberts, Joseph Overman, Jacob Griffin, John Maxwell, John King, Henry Bryan, Isaac Wilson, John Smith, John C. Kibbey, Jacob Brooks, Benjamin Maudlin, and James Thompson. It is impossible to enumerate all the names of the early settlers of the township, but comprehensive lists may be obtained from the earlier histories of the county.

The first saw mill in the township was built about 1817, three miles north of Centerville, and Noland's Fork served as a favorable place for the location of a number of mills. The oldest existing town in the county is Centerville, mention of which is made in other parts of this history. The town was laid out in 1814 and early became a center of activity in the eastern part of Indiana.

The Friends' church at West Grove in this township was organized in 1815. This meeting was situated about three miles northwest of Centerville. Not many years later a Baptist church and a Methodist Episcopal church were organized.

CLAY TOWNSHIP.

Clay township is bounded on the north by Perry and Green townships, on the east by Green and Center townships, on the south by Center and Harrison townships, and on the west by Har

rison and Jefferson townships. The township was first organized in 1831, and few settlers located within its limits before the war of 1812. James Martindale, of North Carolina, is said to have been the first settler. Other early settlers were Jonas Hatfield (of Kentucky), Abel Jenny, Jesse Albertson, William Fox, Miles Murphy, John Baldwin, James Porter, William Ball, and Jonathan Cloud.

A large number of the settlers came from North Carolina. The first grist mill was built about the year 1815, and during the war of 1812 a block house was built north of the present town of Green's Fork. A Friends' meeting house was built within the limits of the township as early as 1813 or 1814, and the Methodist Episcopal church was organized about 1818. The town of Washington was laid out in 1818.

DALTON TOWNSHIP.

Dalton township is located in the northwestern portion of the county. It is next to the smallest township in the county, with an area of sixteen square miles. It was formed from Perry township in 1847. The land was nearly all west of the Twelve Mile Purchase and consequently was not ready for sale to settlers before 1822. Among the earliest settlers was Aquilla West. Soon after came James Lindley, Seth Mills, Joseph Davis, Isaac Beeson, Isaac Reynolds, Charles Burroughs, Henry Thornburgh, and others. Most of the settlers came from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania, and many of them were Quakers. The town of Dalton was laid out in 1827 or 1828. The first store in the township was kept by Aaron Mills, and the first grist mill was built near Lindley's farm, in 1824 or 1825, by Charles Stout.

The town of Franklin was laid out about 1830. The first church in the township was the Friends,' which was established in 1825 or 1826. It was followed by the United Brethren, Methodists and Baptists.

FRANKLIN TOWNSHIP.

Franklin township is in the northeastern corner of Wayne county; it is bounded on the east by the State of Ohio, on the north by Randolph county. It was formed from New Garden township, in May, 1834 Isaac Commons, of North Carolina, is believed to have been the first settler. He was soon followed by Robert Morrisson, John Nicholson, Barnabus Boswell, and Isaac Hiatt. The settlers were somewhat exposed during the war of 1812, but after

the war the progress of settlement was more rapid. The first mill in the township was a saw mill, built about 1817 by William Starbuck, and the first church in the township was the Friends'.

The town of White Water was first called Hillsborough and was platted about 1828.

GREEN TOWNSHIP.

Green township is the middle one, east and west, in the north tier of townships. It was formed in August, 1821, and contains about thirty square miles. It was named for an Indian, John Green, and the principal stream in the township is called Green's Fork. John Lewis, from North Carolina, settled here in 1810 and is recognized as the first settler. Other early settlers were John Green, Daniel Charles, Henry Study, Charles Spencer, Henry Catey, and Anthony Chamness.

The first grist mill was built about 1818. The Baptists probably formed the first church in the township, which was organized in 1818. At least two forts anad block houses were built in the township during the war of 1812. The town of Williamsburg was platted in 1830.

HARRISON TOWNSHIP.

Harrison township was organized in 1843. It is bounded on the north by Jefferson and Clay townships, on the east by Clay and Center, on the south by Center and Jackson, and on the west by Jackson and Jefferson. It was first settled, in the spring of 1811, by Samuel Boyd, of Tennessee. During the winter and spring of 1812 several other settlers came, but on the outbreak of the war of 1812 a number of them left. Among the early settlers were Jesse Beard, Thomas Ray, William Irving, John McKee, Robert Leavell, Joseph Worl, James Dougherty, Thomas J. Warman, Joseph Shanks, and John Holliday.

The first grist mill is said to have been built as early as 1812, and the town of Jacksonburg was platted in 1814.

JACKSON TOWNSHIP.

Jackson township was one of the original townships which was organized after Indiana became a State and was formed in February, 1817. The township lies on the west side of the county, and within its limits are located Cambridge City, Dublin, and

Germantown. The earliest settlement within the limits of the township was made, probably about 1809, by John Shortridge, from Kentucky. William G. Reynolds, from Ohio, and Isaiah Drury came in 1811. In the west part of the township many of the settlers came from North Carolina. Germantown was originally platted in 1827 and was then named Georgetown. Vandalia, a town not now in existence, was laid out in 1824. Dublin was laid out by Harmon Davis in 1830. A female seminary was started in 1835 and the Dublin Academy was established in 1837.

JEFFERSON TOWNSHIP.

Jefferson township lies on the west line of the county and was formed in March, 1834, from the townships of Jackson on the south and Perry on the north. Some of the best lands in the county lie in this township, the west branch of the White Water nearly dividing it in equal parts.

One of the earliest settlers was Samuel Baldridge, from Kentucky, who came to the township in 1814. Jonathan Platts, from New Jersey, early settled here also. Among other early settlers were David and Aaron Miller, Benjamin Parsons, Joseph Bowen, Samuel Reprogle, Isaac Stonebreaker, David Burkett, Jacob, John and Henry Crull, Hugh Allen, William Felton, Samuel Gibson, and John McCullough.

The first grist mill was built on Nettle creek by Daniel Burkett. Hagerstown was first laid off in 1830 and was called Elizabethtown. In 1832 it was replatted and renamed Hagerstown. The Dunkard or German Baptist church was organized about 1824 and still maintains a large congregation.

NEW GARDEN TOWNSHIP

New Garden township was organized in 1817 and is one of the six original townships of the county. It is bounded on the east by Franklin township, on the south by Wayne and Center townships, on the west by Green township and on the north by Randolph county. A large proportion of the early settlers were Friends and were from North Carolina. The township received its name from the New Garden Meeting in Guilford county, North Carolina.

John Turner and Jonathan Marine were among the first settlers and came from North Carolina about 1809 or 1810. Among

the early settlers who followed them were Jonathan Hough, George Shugart, James and Joseph Dwiggins, Benjamin, John, Stephen and Isaac Thomas, Edward and Thomas Baldwin, Joseph Bond, William and Isaac Jessup, Andrew, Abraham and Jacob Hampton, Daniel Crampton, John Baldwin, Isaac Williams, Obediah Harris, Francis Thomas, Cader and Josiah Woodard, James Moorman, William and John Lacey, and Thomas, Jedediah and Edward Price. Among the early settlers of old Newport, now Fountain City, were Dr. Henry H. Way, Levi Coffin, Samuel Nixon, Joel Parker, Harvey Davis, Caleb Cowgill, and Jonathan Elam and Pleasant Unthank. The early settlers of Newport were mainly a positive, determined class of people, standing for modern reform.

The township has a great deal of very excellent land. Fountain City was laid out in 1818 and was first called New Garden; it was renamed Newport in 1834 and Fountain City in 1878. The first church in the township was the Friends' church, organized in 1813, and named New Garden Meeting.

PERRY TOWNSHIP.

Perry township was also one of the original six townships into which the county was divided after the adoption of the State Constitution. Most of the early settlers came from Tennessee and North Carolina and were Friends. It is bounded on the north by Randolph county, on the east by Green township, on the south by Clay and Jefferson townships and on the west by Dalton and Jefferson townships. The land is well situated for agricultural purposes. It was first settled about 1814, and among the early families were those of James Warren, Richard Williams, John Bailey, William Blount, and Thomas Lamb.

A saw mill was built in the township as early as 1819 and a tannery was established about 1825. Charles Osborn removed from Tennessee to Ohio in 1816, and in 1819 settled in this township. He laid out the town of Economy in 1825. It is located almost in the center of Perry township, as now formed.

WASHINGTON TOWNSHIP.

Washington township lies in the southwestern corner of Wayne county and was established in 1817. The surface is variable, being broken by the White Water and its tributaries. Thomas Symonds was probably the first settler. He arrived in the limits of the township in December, 1811. It is said that he

and his wife were much annoyed by Indian beggars and wild animals that approached their cabin by night and by day. Benjamin Beeson, from North Carolina, settled south of the present town of Milton in 1814, and in 1811 Thomas Beard, from North Carolina, settled southeast of the present town of Milton.

Milton was laid out by John Bell in 1824, and in 1825 the town contained eight families. In the early history of the county it was one of the enterprising business centers and was an important point on the old White Water canal. The Methodist Episcopal church probably formed the first religious organization, as early as 1818, but about 1819 the Friends established a church and named it Milford Meeting.

WAYNE TOWNSHIP.

Wayne township was one of the two townships into which Wayne county was divided when it was organized into a county, in 1810. At that time Wayne county covered all of Union and a part of Fayette, Henry and Randolph counties, in addition to the present Wayne county. The township is now the largest in the county.

As the first settlement of Wayne county was within the limits of this township, and as Richmond is located in the township, the reader is referred to the chapter on the early history of Wayne county and of Richmond.

WEBSTER TOWNSHIP.

Webster township is the youngest and the smallest township in the county. Joseph and Rachel Bond moved from North Carolina and settled near the present town of Webster, in 1811. Other early settlers were Willis Whitson, Isaac Jessup, Samuel Bond, Joseph Personette, and Thomas Culbertson. The town of Webster was laid out about 1850. The community had generally been known as Dover, because of the Friends' Meeting, called the Dover Meeting, which was organized in 1821. A Friends' school was also established here about the same time.

OLD COURT HOUSE SITE AT SALISBURY

BIRTHPLACE OF OLIVER P. MORTON

CHAPTER VII.

COUNTY SEAT HISTORY.

ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY—FIRST COURT—COUNTY SEAT ESTABLISHED AT SALISBURY—REMOVAL TO CENTERVILLE—SEMINARY OF WAYNE COUNTY—REMOVAL OF COUNTY SEAT TO RICHMOND—RESUME.

Wayne county was organized in 1810. It was composed of that part of Dearborn county lying east of the Twelve Mile Purchase and between the north and south lines of the new county, together with that portion of the Purchase lying between those lines. Only that portion lying east of the Twelve Mile Purchase was then the property of the General Government and offered for sale to the settlers. The Twelve Mile Purchase was land purchased from the Indians, in 1809, and was not surveyed and ready for sale until 1811. The strip west of the Purchase was not acquired until about the year 1820, which completed the present area of the county.

By the act of the Territorial legislature which organized Wayne county, "John Cox, George Holman and John Addington, Gentlemen," were appointed commissioners to meet and locate the county seat, on or before "the first Monday of the following May," and until this was done and a court house completed, the act also provided, that the court was to meet at the house of Richard Rue.

Richard Rue, George Holman and Thomas McCoy were among the earliest settlers in Wayne county. They came from Kentucky, were inured to hardships of almost every kind, having been in captivity three years and a half among the Indians, and they established themselves in this county in 1805.

On Feb. 25, 1811, the first Circuit Court was held at the house of Richard Rue, three miles south of Richmond. The only business transacted at this session was that of dividing the county into civil divisions, and the court then adjourned. At the next session, held at Rue's home, in March, 1811, a grand jury for the first time was empaneled in Wayne county. A Seal of the Court

was adopted and consisted of "a wafer and a piece of paper turned over, with the letters 'Wayne County' written thereon." These early sessions of the court were held in the woods adjoining Rue's house whenever the weather permitted. Family chairs were provided the officers and the jury was furnished with logs as their seats and nature's leafy canopy as a protection from the burning rays of the sun.

Concerning the establishment of the county seat there seems to be a difference of opinion. Most authorities state that Holman and Addington, commissioners appointed by the act of the legislature in 1810 to locate the county seat, designated a quarter-section about three-fourths of a mile north of the present town of Centerville as being the nearest geographical center of the county. John Cox, the third member of the commission, dissented on the ground that this land had not yet been sold by the Government and therefore could not be legally used. However, in the language of John B. Still, a pioneer and a trustworthy gentleman, "at the June term of 1811 the Commissioners, appointed by an act of the legislature, having failed to discharge their duty, according to law, in selecting a county seat of justice for the county, the court declared their duties ended and appointed in their stead, Samuel Walker, Richard Maxwell and Benjamin Harris." These commissioners were ordered to proceed immediately to the discharge of their duties. On the third day of the term the commissioners made a report, "that the permanent seat of justice *is* and shall be on the donation of Samuel Woods, of sixty-five acres in the 13th township, range 3d, with a small reserve." The Court, however, confessing the report, ordered it to be entered as received by the clerk, "That the town of Wayne, or the seat of Justice, shall be called Salisbury." Having obtained both a location and a name, the next thing was to build a town. Smith Hunt, Samuel Woods, and James Brown, were appointed trustees to lay off the lots, and Andrew Woods and John Meek, Sr., to superintend the building of a jail and estray pen, all, as a matter of course, under the direction of the Court.

A log court house for temporary use and a rude jail of hewed logs were erected as soon as the town was laid out. William Commons, who came here in 1810, has the honor of building the log court house and jail at Salisbury and also the first court house and log jail at Centerville. In the collection of the Wayne County Historical Society is the paper with the signatures of citizens, subscribing in round numbers $2,400 towards the erection of the court

house at Salisbury. Soon these wooden structures were supplanted by brick buildings. It is interesting also to note that Wayne county's first seat of justice cost $229.99. Strange as it appears, no record is found on the minutes of the court of the building of a court house at Salisbury, but at the October session of 1811 the following singular entry is made: "At a County Court held at the house of Richard Rue, Esq., on the 28th of October, 1811, it opened and, etc., and the Court having been previously informed that the Court House was raised, the Court therefore adjourned to sit one hour in the Court House in the town of Salisbury. Accordingly, the Court met at the Court House, in the town of Salisbury, in the County of Wayne, on the Aforesaid 28th day of October and proceeded, etc."

Such was the beginning of Salisbury, the first town laid out in Wayne county. "Salisbury having now become an incorporated town, the earliest in the county, and its citizens having secured permanently, as they supposed, the public buildings, they anticipated a long and prosperous career." The high destiny anticipated for the new village may be inferred from the following inscription found on the back of the recorded plat of the town, in the handwriting of George Hunt, at that time clerk and recorder of the county: "The Town of Salisbury stands on a beautiful site, on the waters of Clear Creek, W. C. I. T. (Indiana Territory), in a fine neighborhood, environed by rich land, etc. etc. No better water in the world, the air salubrious, and its elevated situation commands an extensive and beautiful prospect, and we flatter ourselves, that in a few years, *Art*, with her sister, *Industry*, will convert it from a forest to a flourishing inland town. Several gentlemen of property have purchased lots, both in the *Mercantile* and *Mechanical* line, which will greatly enhance its value."

Turning to the "Emigrants' Guide," by S. R. Brown, one finds the following pertaining to the year 1816: "Salisbury lies thirty miles north of Brookville, contains about thirty-five houses, two stores and two taverns. It is at present the seat of Justice for Wayne County, but Centerville, a near village, being more central, threatens to become its competitor for that privilege."

The growth of Salisbury was rapid, and it was at one time not only the most flourishing town in Wayne county, but in the State. Salisbury's career, however, was short. It attained only a few hundred inhabitants, when, in 1814, efforts were made to remove the county seat to Centerville. In the midst of the bitter strife between the Salisbury and Centerville parties, the first ses-

sion of the Indiana legislature, on Dec. 21, 1816, passed an Act, by which the removal was authorized, on the condition that the citizens of Centerville provide public buildings equal in convenience and value to those already in Salisbury, of the same dimensions, and as well finished, without any expense to the county. Failing to do this, the county seat remained where it was.

Section 3 of the same Act, names Aug. 1, 1817, as the day, on and after which all public business shall be transacted in Centerville. Now commenced the downfall of Salisbury. Bitter strife ensued between Salisbury and Centerville parties, one trying to retain, the other trying to procure, the county seat. All that could be said on either side was brought to bear on the subject; the sickness of the respective places, the population, the convenient and inconvenient location, future prospects, expenses incurred, etc., were among the points canvassed. It is recorded that it was the opinion of William Steele—a burly citizen of Salisbury, its chief politician, a legislator, a colonel, a "New Light" preacher, and a cabinet maker—that Salisbury was destined to become another *Moscow*. This declaration was received with so much jeer by the opposite party that the term Moscow for awhile bid fair to supplant that of Salisbury.

Short as the time was, the buildings were all up in due season, some of the citizens of Centerville subscribing $1,000 to $1,500 towards their erection.

In August, 1817, the Board of Commissioners met for the last time at Salisbury. It was ordered by James Odell and Thomas Beard that the Board adjourn to Centerville. Thomas J. Warman, the third member, dissented and refused to sit, on the ground that the papers accepted at their July meeting were invalid, and that the conditions of the law authorizing the removal of the site had not, in his opinion, been complied with. In the spring of 1818 the court was held at Centerville. The legislature, by an act of Jan. 28, 1818, had authorized the court to convene at Centerville and provided that it should convene on the first Monday of March, June, and October, and should sit six days each term. Accordingly, on the first Monday in March, 1818, the court convened at Centerville, but not with the feeling that Salisbury had relinquished her claim to the county seat.

Only one year afterward the question was brought before the Court whether *Salisbury* or *Centerville* was the legal seat of justice. The presiding judge, John Watts, was absent. The associate judges—William McLane and Jesse Davenport—were of the op-

posite opinion from the presiding judge in this matter. Their decision was, "that the seat of justice was permanently established at Salisbury, that the Act of Dec. 21, 1816, not having a sufficient repealing clause, has not removed it, but that the Act of Jan. 28, 1818, authorized the court to hold their *pro tempore* sessions in the town of Centerville, until the legislature should otherwise direct." As the legislature has never otherwise directed the legal county seat, according to the decision of these judges, must still be at Salisbury. The court was held "temporarily" at Centerville ever afterwards, although as late as 1820 we find that the question came before the county commissioners.

On Aug. 14, 1820, the question was finally settled by the Board, consisting of Isaac Julian and Benjamin Harris, accepting the deed to the public square at Centerville.

Centerville rapidly forged to the front. She was settled by a class of citizens, progressive and intelligent, who soon won fame for her wherever they went. It at once became a thriving business place. The United States Government paved the main street with flag stones.

The people of Centerville strongly urged the commissioners to build a place of security for prisoners, but this was construed to mean, and was so worked out, that a jail and palatial residence for a jailer was built costing about $80,000. Then followed the erection of the iron fence enclosing the court yard, at a cost of about $10,000. Evidently the people intended to get so much of the public money there that the county seat could never be removed. The citizens thought their town was destined to become the leading business center of Eastern Indiana. Their dreams for its future far surpassed those of the most enthusiastic promoter of the gas booms of to-day. The metropolis-to-be was laid out on a magnificent scale. The streets were 100 feet wide, and sites were provided for a city hall and market place, besides those already laid out for a court house and jail. Judging that the real estate would soon become scarce, these streets were subsequently narrowed to sixty feet and some of them to forty feet. The new town prospered; lots sold rapidly, and prices were high.

The prevailing mania to have brass knockers on the front street door raged then to as great an extent as it does now, and along the principal streets the residences were built flush to the line of the sidewalk, and many of them had no lawns either at the side or at the front. The demand for front space was so great that the alleys were arched over to make more front room. Sev-

eral of these old-fashioned arches are still standing; all except two of them are attached to residences.

The framers of the Constitution of 1816 made it the duty of the general assembly, "as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State university and for the promotion of such, the money which shall be prepaid as an equivalent by persons exempt from military duty, except in times of war, shall be exclusively, and in equal proportions, applied to the support of 'County Seminaries'." In 1831 a general law providing for the establishment of a Seminary in each county was passed. The Seminary of Wayne County was established by an act passed Jan. 26, 1827. The bill was introduced by James Raridan, the senator from Wayne. The bill made it the duty of the Circuit Court of Wayne county to appoint three persons to constitute a Board of Seminary Trustees.

Centerville, alive to her interests, had her representatives ready to confer with the trustees as soon as they were appointed. Lot Bloomfield, Daniel Jenkins, and Robert Hill were appointed, and this board received by donation two lots in the town of Centerville which they accepted and reported as suitable for the Wayne County Seminary. In 1828 the west wing was erected. Nathan Smith taught the first school. Rev. Samuel K. Hoshour taught from 1836 until 1839 and later became State Superintendent of Public Instruction and president of Butler University. Rawson Vaile had charge six years at one time. The east wing was built in 1840, and in 1847 the main building was commenced. Some time in 1850 the building was purchased by the Methodist church and was converted into a boarding school, known as White Water College.

In 1852 the legislature ordered the sale of all county seminaries, with all their property, real and personal, and provided that the net proceeds should be added to the permanent school fund. The one at Centerville subsequently passed into private hands. In 1856, Edwards, A. C. Shortridge, and Roberts, leased the building for five years. The school then taught was not denominational. In 1861 the building was sold to W. H. Barnes, who conducted a boarding school until 1865, when he sold the building to J. M. Coyner, who in turn sold it to S. S. Potter in 1867. In 1870 it was sold to the town for public school purposes, at about twice its actual value, the trustees issuing long-time bonds bearing ten per cent. interest. It continued to be used for school purposes until 1891, when the old building was destroyed by fire after having stood [illegible] fifty years.

White Water College numbers among its pupils many eminent men. Here it was that Indiana's distinguished war governor, Hon. Oliver P. Morton, first went to school. Among other pupils were Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, the famous commander of the Army of the Potomac; Hon. George W. Julian, a leading anti-salvery agitator, who was long prominent in national affairs; Gen. Lew Wallace, the soldier, diplomat and author, whose literary work has done so much to make the name "Hoosier" respected the world over; Hon. Henry U. Johnson, one of Wayne's most brilliant representatives in Congress; Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of the Century Magazine; and Henry Mosler, the famous American artist. Many other men not so widely known received their education here, and there is probably not another school of its class, at that date, in the United States that has exerted so wide an influence. Judging from the above, Centerville had more prominent men than any town in the country. George Julian, Neel McCullough, and others, about 1842, organized a debating club, which became famous in after history, called the Dark Lyceum. Its sessions were generally held in the second story of the Seminary building and, as the name indicates, *in the dark*. Its purpose was to improve the members in extemporaneous debate, and under cover of darkness it was thought that they could speak and gesticulate with greater freedom. The meetings were presided over by a "premier" and every member in turn introduced some proposition and opened the debate.

But "the paths of glory lead but to the grave." Fortune had decreed that Centerville as the seat of justice of Wayne county, should be short lived, comparatively speaking. A chain of causes and events now began which led to the removal of the court house and belongings from that place to Richmond.

In the early settlement of the county it was desirable that the county seat should be as nearly as possible the geographical center of the county. No section of the county then had a preponderence of population or business, hence this accommodated a majority of the people of the county. But all this had changed with the course of events. The day of building court houses in geographical centers has long since passed by. Our commerce, transportation, and social interchanges are now nearly all conducted through the facilities furnished by railroads, and in this respect one must admit that Richmond was more accessible and convenient to fully three-fourths of the population of this county, to say nothing of the advantages Richmond offered to the farmers, mechanics, and

traders, in her mercantile, mechanical and manufacturing interests. We find Wayne township with a population nearly equal to the balance of the county, paying a large proportion of the taxes, and furnishing a large amount of the business of the courts. But this was not all—Richmond had greater advantages than Centerville. Turnpike roads penetrated all parts of the county, rendering access to Richmond comfortable and speedy. In the way of railroads a glance at the county map will convince any one of the greater advantages which Richmond possessed in this line, so far as the speed and comfort of persons from the remote parts of the county reaching the city was concerned. In a word, there was a network of turnpikes and railroads spread over the county that made Richmond the center of travel. The legal voters of Wayne county began to realize how advantageous it would be to have the court house at Richmond. Richmond being the great center of manufactures and commerce of the county, all its citizens came there frequently on business, thus affording them an opportunity of attending to matters in court or the offices at one time, whereas, then only a few went to the county seat, except on special business, at a loss of time and money.

The question then was, where shall the new court house be built? That one would be built was a determined fact. Application had been made to the court, by persons intending its permanent location at Centerville, to compel such action on the part of the county commissioners, and a majority of the voters saw in it a repetition of the proceedings by which the $80,000 jail was built, so much to the surprise of the people. For this had been the past history of events: Commencing with an order for making the old jail safe, it resulted in an *unnecessary* expense of about $80,000 of the people's money, and wound up with a $10,000 fence around the square. With this showing in small matters, a half million, it was judged, would scarcely satisfy them for a court house. However, they filed their petition with the commissioners, asking the erection of fireproof vaults and offices, stating these should cost at least $75,000, intending by this piece-meal expenditure to get so much of the people's money invested there that the county seat could never be moved; and because the commissioners took the matter under advisement for a short time the petitioners were not satisfied, but rushed into court, asking a *mandamus* to compel the commissioners to act at once in the matter.

It had become evident that whenever any more money had to be expended for public buildings the majority of the people of

the county desired it spent at Richmond, and not at Centerville, and the friends of Centerville, by their acts, forced them to meet their desires at this time and ask a re-location of the county seat.

The Act of March 2, 1855, as amended in its second section, Dec. 18, 1865, and in its first and third sections, Feb. 24, 1869, was the law which governed the re-location of county seats, under circumstances similar to the present case. Section 1: "That whenever fifty-five per cent. of the legal voters in any county in this State shall, by petition, request the Board of Commissioners of their county to re-locate the county seat of said county, designating in such petition the site where such re-location is desired, and shall procure the conveyance to such Board, by deed conveying good title of two lots of ground, one containing not less than two acres as a site for the court house, and the other containing not less than one-fourth of an acre as a site for the county jail, to be held by such Board for that purpose, and shall deposit with such Board the sum of $100 to pay an architect, and $150 to pay commissioners to assess damages, then such Board shall proceed to have new county buildings erected thereon, and the county seat removed thereto, in the manner and upon the conditions set forth in the following section; provided, that no such re-location of a county seat shall be made unless it shall be removed at least three miles."

The first thing to be done was to obtain fifty-five per cent. of the voters in favor of the re-location. If, after that, and within three months, anyone, or a dozen, more or less, of the petitioners would pay or secure the value of county buildings, the re-location would proceed; if they did not, it would fail.

The citizens of Richmond started a petition. They had two requirements to meet: that of the law and the combined efforts of the people of Centerville. The people of Centerville tried, personally and by circulars, to show how great a loss the removal would be to them; how insignificant the appraisement of county buildings would be toward the amount needed to erect new buildings; the general convenience and central location of Centerville; how property owners would suffer, and numerous other such objections, which in all fairness were partially true. But the argument that the whole county must pay tribute to them, and at a daily and hourly expenditure of time and money run to their place, simply to keep up fictitious values of the real estate of their little town, was rather too thin to outweigh the advantages in favor of Richmond. The petition, however, was passed around to obtain the fifty-five per cent. The people of Centerville at the same time

had a remonstrance circulated to counteract the petition, but the voters, in general, were convinced that the removal was to their own interest. In the meanwhile, a part of the committee looked after the grounds requisite for locating the court house and jail, and gave their report as follows, which is taken from one of the leading papers of Richmond at that time:

"Richmond, Ind., April 26, 1872.

"To the Voters of Wayne County, Ind.:—

"In presenting to your attention the question of removal of the County Seat from Centerville to Richmond, we say that we have procured the necessary ground (two acres and a half) in the business center of the city, at a cost of $42,000, and have paid for it by private subscription. We assure you if such change is made that the appraised value of all the county buildings and real estate at Centerville will be promptly paid by Richmond, and no call or tax will be made on any of the county at large for that purpose. We assure you no person signing the petition will incur any liability therein, as the law simply makes this the way of testing the public wish, instead of by vote. You will simply pay the tax that you will pay if built at Centerville, except we think by building here we can save you a large amount of tax, by reason of our facilities for building. These facts we state to our people, and they can be relied on as true." Signed by G. W. Barnes, S. R. Wiggins, J. J. Jordan, D. B. Crawford, J. L. Meek, J. W. Yeo, J. C. Whitridge, Hadley & Bro., Oran Perry, C. C. Binkley, Irvin Reed, T. W. Roberts, A. A. Curme, C. T. Price, E. G. Vaughan, James M. Starr, Joshua W. Starr, W. H. Swayne, A. Earnist, J. M. Paxson, Fred Rosa, W. I. Dulin, C. Fetta, Thomas Nestor, and W. Thistlewaite.

The voters, encouraged by this report, readily signed their names to the petition, until quite a majority was obtained. The petition and the report, naming the site chosen for the erection of a new court house, were given to the Board of Commissioners, who at their adjourned session, in June, 1872, decreed substantially as follows:

1st. That 4,937 of the legal voters of Wayne county had petitioned the Board, in due form of law, for re-location of the county seat on the premises described in the city of Richmond.

2d. That 6,220 votes were polled at the last Congressional election in Wayne county, held in October, 1870, and that 3,764 votes were fifty-five per cent. of said vote, thus showing a large majority over the requisite number.

3d That the petitioners had paid into court $100 with which to pay an architect, and $150, to pay commissioners to be appointed for the assessment of the value of property at the county seat.

4th. That the petitioners had secured two acres of ground on which to erect a court house, and one fourth of an acre on which to erect a jail, as set forth in their petition.

5th. That the petitioners had tendered to the county board a deed purporting to convey a good title to said property. And, it was therefore ordered and adjudged by the board that they would take time for the examination of said title, and if said title should be found good, that then the board would proceed to order the notice to be given to the Governor, the architect to be employed, and if the petitioners, or some of them, should thereafter pay or secure to be paid the value of said buildings at the present county seat, then the Board would at once proceed to let out the contract for said public buildings at Richmond; and re-locate the county seat thereat. And the court adjourned said cause until the September term, to examine said title.

The record shows that at the September session of the Board, 1872, a deed for said ground was presented by the petitioners and accepted and approved by said Board. The order granted, things began to assume a lively appearance. Legal proceedings to prevent the removal began, with William A. Peele *vs.* The Board of Commissioners of Wayne County, *et al.*, in the Wayne Circuit Court, February term, 1873.

The argument was long and spirited. It was argued before Judge Haynes. The remonstrators, having the burden of proof upon them, procured the services of Jonathan W. Gordon, of Indianapolis, a famous lawyer of his day, who argued nobly for them, while William A. Bickle was the leading lawyer for the petitioners and produced his argument in a very clear and concise way. On March 8, at the close of this term, after having the case under advisement two weeks, Judge Haynes delivered his decision in writing, sustaining the Board of Commissioners.

It is recorded in George P. Emswiler's private diary:

"Last Saturday, March 8, 1873, the Court House was declared as finally fixed and located in Richmond, and on Monday following work was commenced to clear away the ruins of the old Thomas Mason corner, preparatory to its erection here."

An injunction suit was next brought, and Judge George Johnson decided favorably for the petitioners, and the books and court

belongings were ordered removed in compliance with Section 6 of the Statutes of 1869, previously referred to, and which provided as follows:

"So soon as such buildings are completed, at the end of one year named in section 4 of this Act, the county commissioners shall cause all books, papers and furniture of the several county officers and of the several courts of the county and of the county prison and the occupants of said prison, to be removed to such new buildings, and from time of such removal such new site shall become and be held and treated as the seat of justice of such county."

In the meantime the court house had been erected in the northeast corner of the present lot occupied by the court house. One should observe that the petition was signed by 4,937 voters on June 3, 1872; the question was definitely decided March 8, 1873, and on Aug. 14, 1873, the records were removed to the new building in Richmond.

This removal was not to be peaceably accomplished. A great deal of bitterness and strife ensued, but the books were removed without injury to any.

"Thursday, Aug. 14, 1873.—This day the records of the county were removed from Centerville to this City, after having reposed there (a part of them at least) since the year 1822. So says Norris Jones, who, when a boy, assisted in their removal from Salisbury, and to-day, at the age of sixty-two, brought over the first load to Richmond. Henceforth this city will be the 'County Seat,' if not the Seat of Justice. The loss to Centerville is a serious one; to us, a material gain. *Here* may it rest in *peace*."

The removal of the jail and iron fence was not to be accomplished so easily. Violence was threatened and affairs assumed warlike appearances. The National Guard was called to Centerville and patrolled the court house square for several days before the removal was successfully accomplished.

"Nov. 14, 1873.—Within the past two weeks the material composing the new jail at Centerville and the iron fence surrounding the county buildings have been removed to this City, to be used in the construction of a similar building *here*. The fence will be placed around the grounds in this city. The removal was not effected without considerable opposition by the people of Centerville, who, on several occasions, threatened and did use violence in order to stay the removal, firing a 'six-pounder' cannon and other small fire arms at the workmen employed in taking down the building."

At last the removal was accomplished and Richmond became the county seat of Wayne county. This ended a strife which will not be forgotten by the participants or their descendants for many years to come; a strife very natural on the part of the Centerville people and at one time so sharp as to cause apprehensions of serious trouble. In 1890 the old court house was replaced by an elegant, new, and commodious structure, to which every citizen can point with pride.

RESUME.

Salisbury is no more. After the removal of the county seat, the village was rapidly deserted. The few frame and brick buildings were taken down and some of them moved to Richmond. There remains nothing on the site indicating that a town was ever there, except a single house. This is a large frame structure, two stories high, that is now used as a barn. It stands a few rods southwest of the site of the old court house. This unpretentious building is the birthplace of Hon. Oliver P. Morton, one of Centerville's famous sons. Here he spent his boyhood days. The ground on which Salisbury stood is now used for farming purposes.

Centerville now lives only in the past, but it is readily seen that it is rich in the treasures of memory. It was once a thriving business point and its society was second to that of no town in the State. About its narrow, well shaded streets and moss covered, decaying buildings, cling many associations that have more than local historic interest. The attorneys and many of the wealthiest citizens followed the court house to Richmond, by which Centerville lost a great part of its best society. The old court house which served as a seat of justice for so many years is still standing, though it has been altered a great deal in the last few years. The building is now used for residence and business purposes. The town now contains less than 1,000 people and is so completely overshadowed by its larger neighbor, Richmond, that it will never regain its old-time prosperity, but will probably in a few years become a residence suburb of the latter city.

Richmond was platted in 1816. For nearly ten years maize and small grain had waved over the fields patented to John Smith and Jeremiah Cox. It was thought their grounds would furnish a good foundation for a town. The suggestion was made by the former to the latter, but Jeremiah was not at that time prepared to engage in the scheme. "I would rather see a buck's tail" said he, "than a tavern sign." He had no relish for towns, although he

afterwards became part proprietor of one. Notwithstanding this unwillingness to co-operate on the part of one of the landowners, David Hoover proceeded to lay out the land of John Smith along Front and Pearl streets, now South Fourth and Fifth, and lots were "five poles wide and eight poles back." An acre, called the public square, was reserved by Smith for such public uses as he should think proper. This was the extent of the town plat at that time, 1816. Two years afterward, 1818, Jeremiah Cox made his addition on the north side of Main street.

Some one might ask why North Front street, now Fort Wayne avenue, was run along the brow of the hill, at an acute angle of forty-seven degrees with Main street. At that time there ran along the edge of the hill a country road, the first perhaps laid out in Wayne county. As no splendid anticipations of future greatness were entertained for the new town by its proprietors, no provisions were made for coming necessities, but the conveniences of the present were the ruling principle. To continue South Front street, now Fourth, directly north would run it into wet grounds, unsuitable for a street and for building lots; besides the street would ultimately run into the river. On the hill was a road already established, no ground would again have to be relinquished for a street, and the width of the road was sufficient for the wants of the town. Lots were accordingly laid out along this road, and the corners of Main and Front streets became important points. *These* are the oldest streets and for a long while were the only ones in Richmond.

From the authority of John B. Still, taken from George P. Emswiler's diary, we are enabled to present an exact copy of the original proceedings of the citizens with regard to the propriety of incorporating the town.

"Agreeably," say they, "to an Act of the Legislature of the State of Indiana, passed Jan. 1, 1817, the citizens of the town of Richmond convened on the first of the ninth month, 1818, at the house of Thomas and Justice, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they wished said town incorporated, and pursuant made choice of Thomas Swain, president, and Ezra Boswell, clerk, who, after being legally qualified, entered on the discharge of their duties, and taking the state of the *poles*, it appeared that there were twenty-four votes in favor of incorporating and none against it.

"THOMAS SWAIN, Pres.

"Attest: EZRA BOSWELL, Clerk."

CHAPTER VIII.

OLD NATIONAL ROAD.

CESSION OF VIRGINIA—NORTHWEST TERRITORY INACCESSIBLE—WATERCOURSES THE ONLY HIGHWAYS—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—CONSTITUTIONAL OBJECTIONS—JEFFERSON'S PLAN—COMPACT WITH OHIO AND OTHER STATES—CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ROAD—TRIUMPH OVER DIFFICULTIES—RESULTING BENEFITS.

In 1784 Virginia ceded to the General Government the magnificent domain then known as the Northwestern Territory, which now constitutes the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a portion of Minnesota.

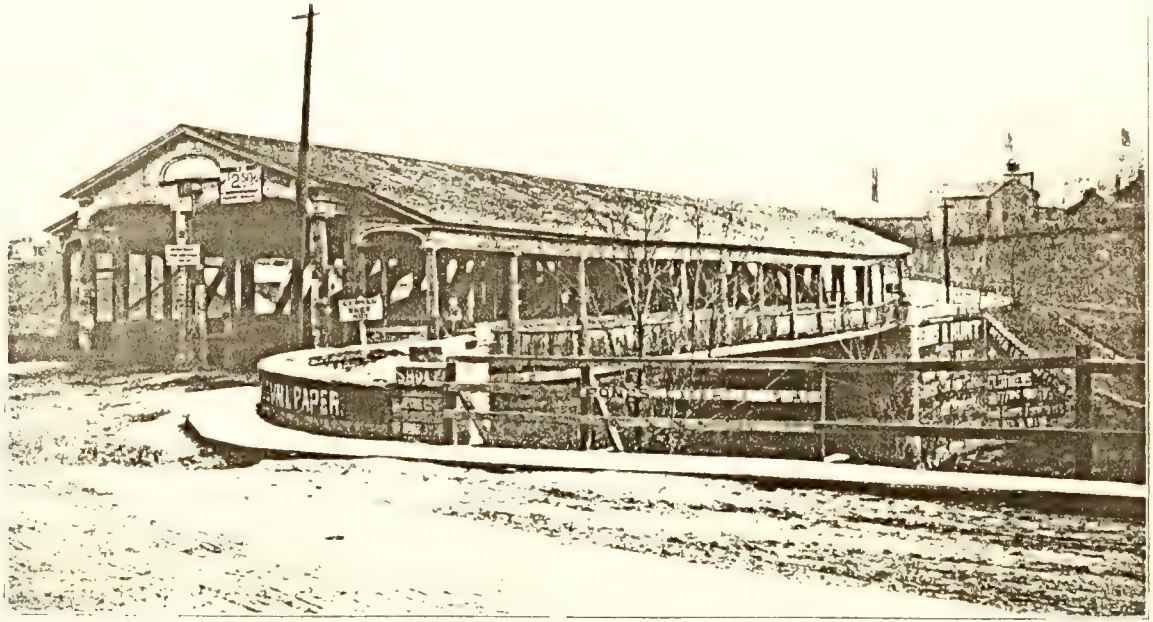
It was at that time almost as inaccessible to the States then forming our Republic as are at this time our possessions in the Philippines on the opposite side of the globe. The nearest settlements of the Eastern States were divided from this Territory by more than 100 miles of rugged mountains, forming an almost impassable barrier between them. There was indeed a trail over these mountains, along which wagons could, with difficulty and danger, be transported between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but the journey required many weeks, and it was entirely useless for commercial purposes. To overcome these difficulties and to bring the two sections of the country into easy communication was a subject which occupied the minds of the leading statesmen of that day. Washington was one of the first to urge the necessity of a public highway over the mountains, and he wrote many letters, as early as 1784, advocating it.

At that time the highways of the country were almost exclusively the watercourses. Our present means of travel and transportation were unknown and mostly undreamed of. Men traveled in those days upon horseback and goods were transported long distances mainly by water. When a new settlement was to be made or the foundations of a new city laid, the banks of a navigable river were the choice locations and first occupied. It

will be remembered that when, in the quaint phrase of the day, "a residence for the Government of the United States" was being selected, only the banks of two great rivers were seriously considered—the Potomac and the Susquehanna. The first resolution adopted by Congress upon the subject declared the necessity of having the seat of government convenient to the Atlantic ocean, "and having due regard to the particular situation of the Western country." In all the debates, "easy access to the Western territory" was the principal argument urged on either side. It is amusing, in following these debates, to note with what earnestness the great men who founded this Republic presented maps, charts, and rough drawings of the fountain rivulets of these great rivers, some of them tiny brooks dashing down the side of the Alleghany mountains, to show how much nearer the one approached the headwaters of the Ohio than did the other, and therefore how much more accessible would the National Capital be to the Western country if built upon the one river rather than upon the other.

It seems strange to us at this day that men like James Madison could seriously argue that a waterway sufficient for all purposes could be found over the Alleghanies by following the sources of the Potomac river to the tops of the mountains, and there connecting, by a portage of only two or three miles, with the tributaries of the Ohio, and by these descend to that river. But this is the recorded belief, not only of Mr. Madison, but of many other distinguished men of 100 years ago. When the contest over the capital had been settled in favor of the Potomac, and men came to consider the subject calmly, they admitted the absurdity of hoping to find a waterway over the mountains and turned their attention to mastering the difficulties of making a macadamized roadway.

The first difficulty the project encountered was entirely a political one. The road would be in parts of three States, and it must necessarily be the work of the Nation. That internal improvements by Congress were forbidden by the Constitution was the stern belief of the dominant party of the time. Mr. Jefferson was President and was a strict constructionist of that instrument. He had long and publicly avowed his belief. But fear from this quarter was soon allayed. Mr. Jefferson never permitted a good thing to escape because it interfered with his principles. He did not believe that Congress could use public money to build a road from Cumberland on the Potomac to Wheeling on the Ohio. That would be unconstitutional, but it would be a good thing for the



OLD NATIONAL ROAD BRIDGE, BUILT 1834.

country if it were done. The President was equal to the emergency and devised a scheme to avoid the constitutional objection. He had Gallatin, his secretary of the treasury, put it into the form of a bill and then induced Congress to adopt it. On the authority of this law a compact was made with the people of Ohio, then applying for admission as a State into the Union.

Although Ohio contained 45,000 inhabitants, still the great body of the lands in that Territory was as yet unsettled and unsold and belonged to the General Government. These lands were also, as property of the General Government, untaxed, but when sold to private individuals they became subject to taxation by the State. It was to the interest of the General Government to encourage the sale of these public lands to private settlers. The money received from them was public money and went into the public treasury to pay the expense of maintaining the Government. Congress could not use any of this public money, according to the views of the Government at that time, in any internal improvement enterprise of any kind; that would be unconstitutional. But Jefferson's scheme to overcome this difficulty showed genius, and was successful. He could not use any of the money received for the sale of these lands in building a national road, because money for such purpose could not be drawn from the public treasury. But he would take a portion of this money, before it got into the public treasury, and create a sinking fund for the purpose of building roads, and from this special fund could be appropriated what might be needed for making a public highway over the mountains.

Of course this distinction was finely drawn, so fine the President did not believe the people would see its fallacy. The scheme, however, was a good one—it encouraged immigration, and it gave the settler time to improve his land before he was required to pay taxes on it. And if it also satisfied the President and his state-rights friends in regard to the constitutional question, that could do harm to no one. It was proposed that, to create this sinking fund, five percentum of the gross receipts of the sales of public lands should be set aside for the purpose of making a public road from the Potomac to the State of Ohio. Just here another difficulty was encountered. At that time the sales of public lands were confined mostly to the Territory of Ohio, which was under the immediate jurisdiction of Congress. But Ohio was about to ask admission into the Union as an independent State, and objected to having its revenue so largely reduced as it would be if

its right to tax these lands were suspended for the proposed five years. In the convention held in Ohio, in November, 1802, to frame a constitution preparatory to becoming a State, this question was discussed. The result was a proposition from the people of Ohio to Congress to the effect that they would consent to the suspension of the collection of taxes on lands as proposed for the term of five years on condition that three-fifths of the five per cent. provided by Congress for building roads should be expended in the State of Ohio, under the direction of the State legislature. Congress accepted this proposition by a special act, passed March 3, 1803.

Thus it was arranged, to satisfy the scruples of the President against the use of public money in making internal improvements, that five per cent. of the sales of public lands should go into a sinking fund to be used in building roads, and by the compact with Ohio that State was to have for its own use three-fifths of this reserve fund, leaving only two-fifths to be used in building a great National Road.

Thus the Congress of the United States, in 1803, contracted to build a road over the Alleghany mountains, to connect the Eastern States with the Western Territories, and by special enactment authorized the President to appoint a commission to select a route for said road and the points at which it should commence and terminate. The final report of this committee was not made until near the close of 1805.

A compact substantially the same as that made with the people of Ohio was afterwards made with the States of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. These latter compacts were made at the time these States were respectively admitted to the Union. In Indiana and Missouri the three-fifths reserved for State use was to be applied to "roads or canals," while in Illinois it was to be "appropriated by the legislature of the State for the encouragement of learning, of which one-sixth part shall be exclusively bestowed on a college or university." This was only the Western branch of the great national road contemplated by Congress. A Southern branch was to pass through Kentucky and Tennessee, by way of Natchez to New Orleans, and with the States through which this branch passed similar compacts were made as the one with Ohio. In respect to this Southern extension, as well as the Western, Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, in a speech in Congress, said: "It must also be viewed in reference to that branch of it which would pass through Kentucky and Tennessee to Natchez and New Orleans, in-

tersecting the great road now proposed from the latter place to this city. It must be remembered," he said, "that it (the Cumberland Road) is a part of a road which is to traverse nine States and two Territories, so that whether we look to the right or to the left, we find the interest of nine States and two Territories all concentrated in the present design."

Mr. Clay was arguing that the completion of the road from Cumberland to the Ohio river, while it was a fulfillment of the compact with Ohio, was not in accordance with the agreement with the States beyond Ohio. Many of us have not known that it was originally intended to extend the National Road to New Orleans, but the advent of railroads made it necessary to abandon this grand scheme, so far as its Southern extension was concerned.

Although Congress had, in 1803, contracted to build a road over the Alleghany mountains, it was not until near the end of 1805 that a route was agreed upon. A committee of Congress had considered a route from Philadelphia, one from Washington City, another from Baltimore, and still another from Richmond, Va., but it was not until December, 1805, that an agreement was reached and reported as follows:

"The Committee have thought it expedient to command the laying out and making a road from Cumberland, on the northerly bank of the Potomac, and within the State of Maryland, to the Ohio, at the most convenient place between a point on the easterly bank of said river, opposite Steubenville, and the mouth of Grove Creek, which empties into said Ohio a little below Wheeling, Va." The committee also reported a bill authorizing the laying out and making of the road, which was enacted into law and approved by President Jefferson on March 29, 1806. This bill authorized the President of the United States to appoint three commissioners to lay out a road from Cumberland on the Potomac to the river Ohio, to be four rods in width. The commissioners are directed to make a report to the President of their proceedings, as well as the expense of making the road passable. The President was authorized to accept or reject the report, in whole or in part. If he should accept it, he was then authorized to obtain the consent of the States through which the road must pass; and having obtained such consent, to make a road on the route proposed. Thirty thousand dollars were appropriated, first out of the proceeds of the reservation from the sales of lands in Ohio, and, secondly, out of the treasury of the United States, the last amount to be chargeable to the said reserved fund. The President appointed the com-

missions authorized by this act, obtained the consent of the States through which the road would pass, afterward approved the report of the commissioners in locating a National Road from Cumberland, Md., to the Ohio river at Wheeling, Va., thus making this first appropriation of $30,000 available.

Thus was the first section, 135 miles, of the great National Road placed under construction, at the expense and under the supervision of the General Government. Begun in 1806, this section was not completed until 1824, eighteen years afterward. During the remainder of Mr. Jefferson's term of office the work of this great road progressed smoothly, apparently without opposition from any quarter, but it necessarily advanced slowly.

During the first years of Mr. Madison's administration the work upon the national road was greatly delayed. At the end of nine years from the commencement less than half the work between Cumberland and Wheeling was completed. The enthusiasm so general among the people when the work began had greatly abated. Indeed, a strong party had arisen among the people of the Eastern States in opposition to the road. It was argued that the Western country had already held out sufficient lures to the inhabitants of the Atlantic States to migrate thither, and that it was impolitic to contribute to their increase, which, it was thought, would be the effect of building the road under construction. It was asserted that many portions of the country east of the mountains were being depopulated by the prevailing "western fever." The constitutional objection that Congress had no power to appropriate money for such purpose was urged with all the bitterness of party rancor. At some points even physical force was used, and much of the work already done was demolished or greatly injured. So far did this proceed that those in charge of the work were compelled to appeal to Congress for protection.

The friends of the road met this argument by asserting that the migration to the West would continue whether the road was made or left unmade. That soon the western territories would be populous and wealthy, with an important trade which would be lost to the Atlantic cities if some such easy communication were not opened between the two sections of the country. They pointed out the fact that the Ohio and Mississippi were being successfully navigated with steam boats, and if this road was not made the merchants of the Western country would cease to purchase goods from the importers of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and New Orleans would soon become the sole emporium of their trade

It could not be expected that with such distraction among the people on this question that there would be much harmony among their representatives in Congress. Therefore, the construction of the road was allowed to drag with only occasional appropriations from the public treasury to aid it.

The superintendent of construction wrote, in 1816, a most discouraging letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, giving a description of the condition of the road, in which he said "that frequent abuses are committed on the road, such as throwing the walls down, digging away the banks," etc., and he suggested that measures ought to be promptly adopted to prevent and to punish these outrages. Where the right belonged to punish these offenders had long been a disputed question, both with the people and the statesmen of the country. There was an absolute necessity of protecting the work, already completed, against lawless violence. The State would not do this because the property belonged to the United States, nor would it permit the General Government to punish such crimes committed within the jurisdiction of the State. Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, in a report to Congress, doubted the authority of that body to pass laws punishing the offenders. And that was the opinion of the administration and dominant party in Congress. Thus the questions of State sovereignty and State rights became involved in the construction of the national road. These objections were answered by the friends of the road, that the State, having given the right of way to make the roads, it followed as a necessary consequence that all the powers obviously needed and proper to carry the grant into complete effect and to preserve it inviolable, were also conferred. And it was insisted that a different construction would render the grant a nullity and exempt from punishment as well the individuals who resisted the construction of the work as those who afterward destroyed it.

This controversy continued with great bitterness for some years, while the depredations upon the work done increased with the assurance that no punishment need be apprehended. Finally, in May, 1822, Congress summoned courage to take means for the protection of the work. A bill was passed, by both the Senate and the House of Representatives, entitled, "An act for the protection and repair of the Cumberland Road." This bill provided for the erection of toll gates and fixed a schedule of tolls to be collected, and also provided severe punishment for all persons who refused to pay such toll. The amount of tolls thus collected, after

deducting the expense of collecting, was to be applied, under direction of the President of the United States, to the repair and preservation of said road, in such a manner as he may prescribe, and to no other purpose whatever. It also appropriated an unexpended balance of a former appropriation of $30,000 to the same purpose of repairs.

This bill was vetoed by President Monroe, who said in doing so: "It is with deep regret (approving as I do the policy) that I am compelled to object to its passage and to return the bill to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, under a conviction that Congress do not possess the power, under the Constitution, to pass such a law." Because, as he adds, "a power to establish turnpikes, with gates and tolls, and to enforce the collection of the tolls by penalties, implies a power to adopt and execute a complete system of internal improvements." On the general principle that the Constitution does not specifically or impliedly grant the power to make national roads, he denied the power of Congress to keep this road in repair; though, because of the compact with Ohio, he had signed seven appropriation bills, granting more than $1,000,000 toward making the road, and though he had distinctly declared in his first inaugural address that among the "interests of high importance" claiming the attention of Congress, "the improvement of our country by roads and canals holds a distinguished place." Thus the effort to keep the road in repair was defeated. At the next session of Congress an appropriation of $30,000 for repairing the road was attached as an amendment to the bill for the District of Columbia, and passed in that shape.

The National Road from Cumberland to the Ohio river was completed in the year 1824 and the compact with Ohio to make a road to that State was fully executed on the part of the General Government. It is true the original proposition was not only to make a road to the State, but through it. But this agreement was modified, at the request of Ohio, by the act of March 3, 1803, giving that State three-fifths of the reserve funds, to be used by the legislature in building roads within the State, and leaving two-fifths only to be used in building a road to the State. It was therefore insisted that the compact with Ohio was fully and faithfully executed in making the road to the Ohio line. The compacts with Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, were the same as with Ohio, except that the General Government had agreed not to make a road *to* these States respectively, but that "a road or roads *leading* to said State" should be constructed. On these facts a

strong party arose, in Congress, in opposition to making the road any further, on the ground that every stipulation of these compacts had been fulfilled. The two per cent. fund, it was argued, had been expended in making a road "to" Ohio, as was required, and "leading to" the other States, as stipulated in their compacts, and that the three per cent. fund was given to the States to be used by them at their pleasure; and this was all that Congress had contracted to do in the matter.

These objections Henry Clay combatted at length. He argued: "Can it be said that the government has made a road to Missouri, when it made a road which nowhere approaches Missouri within 500 miles, or, that it has made a road to the other Western States, when it has made one to a point 250, 300 or 500 miles from them? Gentlemen say that a road has been made in that direction. It might as well be said that the making of Pennsylvania Avenue, in this city, was a fulfillment of the contract, or that the Government might begin a road in the remotest part of the East and end it there, provided it had a "Western direction."

These objections were raised to a bill making an appropriation to continue the road west from Wheeling, with a provision that the amount of the appropriation should be repaid the Government from the two per cent. reserve fund, as stipulated in the original scheme, devised by Mr. Jefferson. All former appropriations had contained a proviso to this effect. Mr. Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, on this discussion made a bitter attack on this proviso. He said that every bill appropriating money for this purpose, from the first to the completion of the road to the Ohio river, had stipulated that the amount should be repaid from the two per cent. funds. He further stated that the expenditure on the part of the General Government, in making this section of the road, was $1,700,000, or more than $13,000 per mile for the 135 miles of road. During this time, he said, the entire receipts of the two per cent. fund aggregated but $259,409.42. Of this amount Ohio had furnished $187,780.31 and Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, and Alabama $71,628.11. The two per cent. fund was therefore already charged with the repayment of more than $1,400,000, an amount many times greater than that fund would produce, without applying a dollar on the roads west of the Ohio. He then said "it is certainly idle and absurd for us to place a pretext so flimsy before the public in any act of legislation. Gentlemen who advocate this bill should at once abandon its defense, upon the ground of the two per cent. fund and compact, and support it upon the principle that it is

an internal improvement, which independently of these considerations should be undertaken at this time by the General Government." Mr. Buchanan did not indorse Mr. Jefferson's scheme for deceiving the people. But notwithstanding all objections, Congress continued to the end in drawing upon the two per cent. funds for the repayment of appropriations to the extent of many millions more than the funds could ever reach.

But it must be admitted that, while this scheme was from the beginning a flimsy pretext to ease Mr. Jefferson's constitutional scruples, it was, by securing the making of this road, of incaluable benefit to the early settlers of these Western States, especially the poorer class. It gave them a magnificent thoroughfare over which they could move easily and cheaply to the Western country, taking with them their families and their household goods, and gave them five years to build up homes in the wilderness, free from all taxation on their lands. Nor could the General Government have devised any scheme more advantageous for itself. The government was depending largely for its revenue upon the sales of its Western lands. The road opened up these lands to market and the exemption from taxation was a great inducement to purchasers. Within three years after this compact was concluded, and before the road was even located, the sales of the public lands in Ohio had increased fivefold.

On Dec. 4, 1828, Oliver H. Smith, of Indiana, introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives, instructing the committee on roads to inquire into the expendiency of reporting a bill to authorize the opening of the Cumberland road, eighty feet wide, on its present location, through the State of Indiana. Mr. Smith supported his resolution in a long and able speech. Mr. McLean, of Ohio, moved to amend the resolution by adding the words: "From Zanesville, by way of Columbus, in the State of Ohio." This amendment prevailed over Mr. Smith's objection, whereupon the latter moved to raise the proposed appropriation from $50,000 to $100,000, which was agreed to. The bill based on this resolution only asked for $100,000 to open the road from Zanesville, Ohio, west through Indiana, but it also contained a provision for toll gates on the finished portion of the road and the collection of tolls to keep the road in repair. There was no objection made to the appropriation, but the suggestion of toll gates and tolls acted like a red flag to a mad bull, to the party organized by Jackson and about to assume charge of the Government.

Mr. Buchanan, regarded as a rather conservative member of

the new party, was thrown into paroxysms of terror at the suggestion of a toll gate. He said: "It is not a question whether we shall keep the road in repair by annual appropriations, nor whether we shall spend other millions in constructing other Cumberland roads; these would be comparatively unimportant; but it is a question upon the determination of which, in my humble judgment, depends the continued existence of the Federal Constitution, in anything like its native purity. Let it once be established that the Federal Government can enter the domain of the States, interfere with the domestic concerns; erect toll gates over all the military, commercial and post roads within their territories, and define and punish, by laws of Congress, in the courts of the United States, offences committed upon these roads; and the barriers which were erected by our ancestors with so much care, between Federal and State powers, are entirely prostrated. This single act would, in itself, be a longer stride towards consolidation than the Federal Government has ever made; and it would be a precedent for establishing a construction of the Federal Constitution so vague and so indefinite that it might be made to mean anything." Thus Jackson Democracy struck a higher note on the subject of State sovereignty than Jefferson Republicanism ever attempted.

This debate on State sovereignty was joined in by all the leading members of Congress and was the first important discussion of that subject in that body. During the debate Mr. Buchanan moved an amendment to the bill which proposed surrendering the road to the States through which it passed, after the road was first put in good repair, and on condition that the States should never collect more toll on the road than will be needed to keep it in good condition. This amendment was rejected and the original bill, which made an appropriation of $100,000 to continue the road through the State of Indiana, passed. This act provided that the work of construction in Indiana should be commenced at Indianapolis and prosecuted at the same time, both east and west, from that city.

There was no further difficulty in procuring all appropriations necessary to complete the construction of this road. During the administration of President Jackson the appropriation for building the National Road aggregated $3,735,530, being more than one-half of the whole cost of the roads; the entire amount was $6,824,919. The last appropriation was made June 14, 1844, and was for $1,359, to meet arrearages on account of survey to Jefferson, Mo. While no constitutional objection was raised against appropriations to

make the road, after the year 1825, when it was agreed to build the road west, through Ohio and Indiana, to the Mississippi river at St. Louis, yet the toll gate question was still discussed and the erection of toll gates bitterly denounced. The perpetuity of the Union, the utter failure of self-government by men, were declared to be dependent upon the erection or non-erection of a toll gate by the government on the National Road.

At length the road was becoming so dilapidated it was feared it would go to ruin if not repaired. As the conflict of authority between the General Government and the States would permit neither to keep the road in proper condition, the proposition to surrender it to the States, through which it ran, was determined on by Congress. Ohio was the first to accept its portion and accepted without condition. Maryland and Pennsylvania each refused to accept unless Congress would first repair the road in those States. Pennsylvania's demand was that the road in that State "shall be first put in a good state of repair, and an appropriation be made by Congress for erecting toll houses and toll gates thereon, to be expended by the commissioners" of the State.

The singular thing about this condition is that Congress accepted and complied with it. Maryland's demand was the same as that of Pennsylvania, and was also complied with. In time all the other States interested, including Indiana, accepted without condition the grant from the General Government and then the National Road no longer existed.

CHAPTER IX.

WHITE WATER CANAL.

TOWPATH AT PRESENT A RAILROAD BED—EARLY DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSPORTATION—QUESTIONS OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—ROUTE SURVEYED FOR CANAL—ENTHUSIASM OF THE PEOPLE—DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME—NAMES OF CONTRACTORS—COMPLETION OF THE CANAL—BRANCH CANALS—BENEFITS DERIVED—CANAL SUCCEEDED BY RAILROADS.

As one travels south from Hagerstown, Ind., to Cincinnati, over the White Water division of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis railroad, and through the beautiful anl picturesque valley of the White Water, his eyes are gladdened by the sight of thriving villages and cities, by the well kept, prosperous-looking farms and comfortable country homesteads, by the expansive view of waving fields in the northern portion and the rugged, mountain-like grandeur of Franklin county, until he emerges into the wider valleys of the Miami and Ohio.

The stranger marvels at the turns and twists of the railroad, wonders at the cause thereof, and compares the journey, on that account and also on account of the scenery on either hand, to one through the mountains of Pennsylvania or the Swiss Alps.

Here and there one catches a glimpse of the murmuring waters of the White Water, glittering in the morning sun, while on the other hand he sees the monotonous waters of the old canal, telling of things gone by. The old locks, now majestic in their decay, add a peculiar charm to the scene, here and there, and form a fitting monument to the energy of a past generation. Now and then an old mill, dilapidated and weather-beaten, yet picturesque in its ruin, adds another monument to the industry of the past.

When one is told that the railroad occupies the towpath and in places even the bed of the old canal, the mystery of the crookedness of the way is cleared and pictures of the past flit rapidly before his imagination. He hears the shouts of the mule drivers as they

plod along with their adverse charges. He sees the flat-bottomed, ark-like boats, some laden with grain, pork, and other agricultural products, and others with salt, iron, sugar, and products of the factory, each with its quota of passengers and oft-times a jolly old fiddler reeling off a merry air to the time of a constantly moving foot. He thinks of the bustle and confusion occasioned by the arrival of a boat at one of the thriving villages. He sees the boat crew busy in loading or unloading the cargoes of freight, and the long lines of farm wagons, coming from miles around with their loads of the products of the soil. The rumbling of the mill and the buzz of the saw fill the air and everything betokens industry and life.

But the scene is changed now. A new era has been ushered in. A new life has begun. However, "the roots of the present lie deeply buried in the past," and the era of the canal boat was certainly a great step toward our present condition. The history of that era and its influences must be very important to us and is filled with much interest. With these thoughts in view, an attempt is here made to give a brief sketch of the events leading up to the inception and construction, and something of the period of operation, of the old White Water canal.

In the year 1800, Indiana Territory could boast of but one county, that of Knox, and its population was given in the census report as 2,517. In 1810, there were four counties, with a total population of 24,520, while in 1815, the year before Indiana was admitted as a State, there were thirteen counties with a population of 63,897, which increased to 147,178 in 1820, and to 195,853 in 1830.

The natural resources of Indiana constantly attracted immigration, and with the the increase of population came the clearing of the forests, the raising of agricultural products and the introduction of manufacturing. Even in 1810, there were in Indiana thirty-three grist mills, fourteen saw mills, eighteen tanneries, twenty-eight distilleries, three powder mills, 1,256 looms, and 1,350 spinning wheels, with a total output valued at nearly $200,000. However, the early settlers could not supply all their wants, and they were raising surplus products for which they would fain have a market. It is not to be wondered at then that the settlers early turned their attention to transportation as the only means of their salvation.

Supplies were brought to the first colonists of the Territory by means of canoes, by way of Lake Erie, the Maumee, Little and

Wabash rivers. Later, they were brought up from New Orleans in pirogues, which were hollowed out logs or two boats fastened together. Then they were brought down the Ohio on flatboats and taken across to Vincennes, from the Falls, on pack horses. The early settlements were all along the rivers and the only way for them to get their produce to market was by means of flatboats during a freshet. Keel boats soon made their appearance, but they required a hundred days to get up from New Orleans. The first sailboat on the Ohio was the "St. Clair," in 1801, and the first steamboat appeared in 1811.

However, it was necessary to open up the country away from the streams, and road building received attention early. In fact, when Indiana was admitted into the Union as a State, the only semblance of a road was the Indian trail from the Falls of the Ohio to Vincennes, and one of the first things the legislature did, after the site for the new capital was decided on, was to appropriate money for the construction of roads to make Indianapolis accessible to the rest of the State.

From this time on the question of internal improvements received a great deal of attention, since the people realized that their prosperity and the development of the State depended upon the means of transportation and communications with the outside world. On April 18, 1816, Congress passed an enabling act by which "five per cent. of the net proceeds of the land lying within said territory * * * shall be reserved for making public roads and canals, of which three-fifths shall be applied to those objects within the said State, under the direction of the legislature thereof, etc." In 1818 Governor Jennings, in his message to the legislature, said: "The internal improvement of the State forms a subject of the greatest importance and deserves the most serious attention. Roads and canals are calculated to afford facilities to the commercial transactions connected with the exports and imports of the country, * * * enhance the value of the soil, * * * and invite to a more general intercourse between the citizens." Governor Hendricks also recommended internal improvements and Governor Ray thought it would be the safest way to relieve the financial depression of the time. During the administration of the latter, a road from the Ohio river to Lake Michigan was begun. In 1827, the Federal Government gave a grant of land to Indiana for the purpose of constructing the Wabash and Erie canal. This grant was accepted and work was begun. Under Governor Noble's administration the agitation for internal improvements reached its

climax and undertakings of a gigantic character were begun by the State. Governor Noble was untiring in his efforts for securing the legislation authorizing the various works. In 1836, the State received a part of the division of the surplus revenue, and in January of that year the legislature passed the Internal Improvement Bill appropriating $10,000,000 for the construction of the following works: 1. The White Water Canal; 2. The Central Canal; 3. An extension of the Wabash and Erie Canal; 4. A macadamized turnpike from New Albany to Vincennes; 5. A railroad from Madison to Lafayette; 6. A railroad or turnpike from New Albany to Crawfordsville; 7. Improvement of the Wabash river from Vincennes to its mouth; 8. Canal or railroad from Fort Wayne to Lake Michigan. The passage of this act was celebrated throughout the State, the people going almost wild for joy. At Indianapolis the houses were illuminated and bonfires were lighted in the streets.

But let us return to the White Water canal more particularly. The fertility of the White Water valley early marked it as the garden spot of Indiana. Residents of the valley saw its possibilities and were not slow in starting agitation in favor of the improvement of the section.

According to a "History of Fayette County," published in 1885, Alvin Joselyn, of Brookville, who was publisher of the "Western Agriculturist" and a minister of the Gospel, advocated the construction of a canal through the valley as early as 1822 or 1823. As a result of his agitation a convention of delegates from Franklin, Wayne, Randolph, Union, Fayette and Dearborn counties was held at Harrison, Ohio, to discuss such an enterprise as he proposed. A survey was afterward begun by Colonel Shriver's brigade of United States Engineers. Colonel Shriver died soon after and the work was taken up by Colonel Stansbury. He began at the mouth of Garrison's creek, but on account of the approach of cold weather the work was discontinued.

In 1834, an issue of "The Connersville Watchman" said that "a corps of engineers are surveying the route of the contemplated canal down the valley of the White Water." This corps was appointed by the Canal Commissioners, according to instructions of the legislature, and was under the direction of William Gooding and J. L. Williams, engineers-in-chief. Other engineers who assisted in this survey and also some who helped in the final location were: Henry C. Moore, Stephen D. Wright, Simpson Talbot, John Minesinger, John Shank, Martin Crowell, and John H. Farquhar.

In a report made by J. L. Williams and William Gooding, Dec. 23, 1834, it was stated that the White Water valley was favorable for the construction of a canal and that the principal item of cost would be the construction of locks. The survey was begun at the mouth of Nettle creek, and the west side of the river was recommended since most of the tributaries were received from the east side. It was proposed to cross the river at Connell's mill and recross either at Brookville or at Mrs. Carr's, four miles below Harrison. According to this survey the length of the canal would be seventy-six miles and forty-nine chains, and would necessitate the construction of fifty-five locks and seven dams, at a total cost of $1,142,125.15. This report is very complete and thorough. It estimates the area of country that would use the canal for means of trade at 3,156 square miles (which estimate was more than realized), names the exports and imports of the region, and by a comparison with the region around Dayton, Ohio, on the Miami canal, estimates that 34,000 tons of imports and exports would pass through the White Water canal annually. It states that the cost of transportation under conditions then existing, to and from the Ohio river, averaged $10 per ton, while canal transportation was estimated at $3.50 per ton, thus making a saving to the valley of $221,000, annually. Besides it was estimated that water power would be created which would furnish power for 318 pairs of mill stones or other machinery of equal amount. On the whole it was thought that the construction of the canal would be a great impetus to immigration and settlement, and to agriculture, manufactures and commerce.

From the time this report was made until 1836, the members of the legislature from the White Water valley and other influential citizens worked faithfully for the enactment of the project into law. However, they were not without opposition, even in the valley itself. The leader of the opposing forces appears to have been Charles Hutchens, who edited a newspaper at Brookville. Branch canals were proposed in order to divert capital and make the undertaking appear ridiculous. However, this amounted to nothing, as do all similar movements against the march of progress.

It is difficult for us to realize the conditions of that day and the serious need for improvements in the means of transportation and communication. Cincinnati was the market for the White Water valley and produce was carried to and from that place in wagons. Live stock had to be driven and passengers and mail

were transported by stage or carriage. Dr. Joel Pennington, one of the early residents of Milton, Wayne county, Indiana, gave the following interesting account of early transportation in an address delivered at Milton, Jan. 19, 1877:

"During the first fifteen years or more of our residences in Milton, the surplus productions of the country were conveyed to market in wagons with five or six able horses attached. John Loder, Esq., and John Gilliland, both of whom are deceased, did the principal hauling to and from Cincinnati, as that was our usual place of trade. They took down flour, wheat, or bacon, and whatever else the country afforded, and brought back goods for our merchants. It was not an uncommon occurrence for the trains to be gone ten days or two weeks in making a trip, when the roads were one continuous mudhole from here to the city. Our merchants complained stoutly of the delay of these trains. But give them time and they never failed to put in an appearance. I cannot but call to mind the looks of old Esquire Loder and his team as he turned the corner of our present tavern, hat in hand, while he huzzaed for General Jackson, as he often did. He felt like rejoicing after reaching his destination and had succeeded in overcoming mud and mire of seventy-five miles distance. Until the mammoth improvement bill was passed and until the White Water valley canal was finished, we had no other mode of conveying our products to market."

The tri-weekly stage which ran between Cincinnati and Cambridge City was the principal means of travel and communication for the people of the valley. With a growing population and constantly increasing production, little wonder is it then that the people would readily grasp at anything which promised to relieve their condition, and it is to be wondered at that they did not commit greater follies in the way of appropriation and investments than they did.

With such a public sentiment behind them, Enoch McCarty, in the Senate, Caleb Smith, Mary Crum, and R. J. Hubbard, in the House, and others, succeeded in getting the provision for the White Water canal at the head of the Internal Improvement Bill, which was passed by the Indiana legislature Jan. 6, 1836. The passage of this bill caused a frenzy of rejoicing throughout the White Water valley. The "Indiana American" of Jan. 22, 1836, gives the following account of the demonstration at Brookville:

"The arrival of every mail from Indianapolis for the last month has been looked for with the most intense anxiety, and

on Tuesday evening last, when the news arrived of the passage of the bill, the rejoicings of our citizens broke out in the most unbounded enthusiasm. In one-half hour after the arrival of the news, the public buildings and every dwelling, shop, or office were splendidly illuminated. The wind being very still, long rows of lights decorated the sides of the streets and fences in front of buildings; and loud and boisterous rejoicing could be heard in every direction—cannons roaring, bells ringing, drums beating, balloons ascending, burning tar barrels, bonfires, etc. A procession of citizens was formed, under the command of Colonel Noble and Captain Dodd, marshals of the night, and promenaded the streets with lights in their hands and with a band of music, in as good order as could be expected under the circumstanaces."

The procession was participated in by the people of Brookville generally and crowds from the surrounding towns and country.

The news of the passage of the bill reached Connersville on Jan. 18, and on the evening of that day "the village" was brilliantly illuminated. The court house was lighted up from top to bottom and the "cannon of the village" was taken out to the line of the canal and six guns fired—one in honor of the Governor, one to the Senator, one to each of the Representatives of the county in the general assembly, and one to the White Water Valley canal. At the court house a great crowd of people was addressed by O. H. Smith and Samuel W. Parker, after which the assembly repaired to the river bank, east of town, to continue the celebration. However, the joy of the occasion was marred by the premature explosion of a cannon, by which four young men were terribly injured, one of them dying the next morning.

At Milton, according to Dr. Pennington, the houses were illuminated and a procession was formed which marched through the streets with music, the paraders carrying miniature canal boats. E. B. Newman, of Milton, states that a boat, lighted up with tallow candles, on a wagon, was drawn through the streets by men, and that a speech was made by Richard Hubbard.

Steps were soon taken for the commencement of work, and on Sept. 13, 1836, contracts were let at Brookville for the construction of the various sections, which event was celebrated in an appropriate manner. Hon. David Wallace was the speaker of the day and ex-Gov. Noah Noble, ex-Gov. James B. Ray, Dr. Daniel Drake, of Cincinnati, and George H. Dunn, Esq., of Lawrenceburg, were chosen to perform the ceremony of "breaking ground." It is

learned from a paper on the White Water canal, written by Prof. Lee Ault, of Cambridge City, that Governor Noble spoke of the canal as "one of the grandest undertakings of modern times," and that Judge Finley, of Richmond, editor of the "Palladium," in a toast gave vent to the following lines:

> "There is not in the wide world a valley so sweet,
> As that vale where the branches of Whitewater meet;
> Oh! The last picayune shall depart from my fob,
> Ere the east and the west forks relinquish the job."

In a report made by J. L. Williams, principal engineer of Indiana canals, Dec. 13, 1836, it is stated that William J. Ball made a survey of the east side of the river below Brookville. He recommended this side, as it was less exposed to the current of the stream and would occasion a saving of $25,000, which in consequence of improvements was increased to $40,000. Major Torbert, of Mauch-Chunk, Pa., the resident engineer, was left in charge of the final location. Thomas Noel was his assistant. Torbert was shortly after succeeded by Stephen Wright, assisted by Captain Farquhar.

It was finally decided to cross East Fork at Brookville by means of a dam and towpath bridge and to recross one-half mile below Harrison by means of a dam. The old towpath bridge is still doing good service at Brookville, although somewhat remodeled, and it is a splendid example of the old-fashioned covered bridge. It is 392 feet long and cost originally $14,000. No traces of the old dam remain.

Many difficult problems arose for the engineers to solve. Probably the most difficult one was at McCarty's Bluff, three miles below Brookville, where the river washes the hills for nearly a mile. It was finally decided to build a dam below the gorge to form a slack water and construct a towpath along the side of the cliff. This dam was 340 feet long and fourteen feet high from low water. At Franklin Factory Ridge, two miles above Brookville, a tunnel and also a cut was proposed, but the latter was finally decided upon, as it was thought better and would occasion a saving of $8,000. At Milton two plans were considered: one, to dig out the canal on the plain on which the town is situated, and the other to use the river by means of the basin formed by a dam built below the cliff. The former plan was adopted, however. At Somerset it was decided to cross the river by an aqueduct instead of a pool.

In a report of the State Board of Internal Improvement made Dec. 17, 1836, we learn that the length of the White Water canal, located at that time, was fifty miles; that thirty miles and sixty-four chains of this (which included from Lawrenceburg to the first dam above Brookville), was under contract; that the total cost at contract prices would be $474,301, and that Elisha Long, of the Board, had been appointed to superintend the White Water canal.

Some of the principal contractors on their part of the canal, as taken from a list of successful bidders at a canal letting at Brookville, July 24, 1838, and from other sources were: George Heimer, Reid & Kelly, William Marshall, William Griffith & Company, Putney & Russell, L. Laughlin, Perrins, Ryle & Company, N. Hammond, M. Garrison, William M. McCarty, Rubottom & Westerfield, Isaac Van Horn, Gibbons & Williams, Halstead & Parker, H. Simonton, J. Palmer, Naylor, Troxell & Company, D. Branham & Company, Scott & Butt, Butt, Corbey & Donohue, H. Lasure & Company, Vance, Coldwell & Company, Tyner, Whipple & Company, C. & J. Meek, Carmichael & Bauvick, Parren & Kyle, William Garrison, Moses Kelley, Benjamin M. Remy, R. & F. Freeman, William Rubottom, Zepheniah Reed, Joel Wilcox, William Carr, Jonathan Barnes, Alexander McLaughlin, Charles O. Hale, and John Justice. Joel Williams took the contract for the building of the bridge and dam below Brookville, while Wilcox & Van Horn were the contractors for the feeder dams at Brookville and Cooley's Station, the latter being known as Case's Dam.

The construction of such a work as the White Water canal, besides the corps of engineers and the officers for superintendence, gave employment to a large number of men and hence brought an era of prosperity and activity to the valley hitherto unknown. During the first season there were employed in men and teams the equivalent of 975 men. Three hundred and twenty-five of the men employed were Europeans. They received an average of $18 per month in wages. George W. Julian, who became well known in the political life of Indiana, was a rodman in one of the surveying parties.

The contractors worked with a vim to get the canal in condition for traffic. The people of the valley hastened things, too, by showing a lively interest in the work. A clipping from the "Indiana American" of Nov. 17, 1837, so well shows the spirit of the time and the interest the people took in the canal, that it is thought worthy of quotation. It is as follows:

"The enterprising contractors, J. Wilcox & Co., have finished the final dam across the east fork of the White Water, at this place [Brookville] and the water was let into about one mile of the canal on Saturday last, and many of our citizens have had the pleasure of being first (not only to advocate) but of floating upon a portion of Indiana's great works of improvement. The dam backs the water nearly up to Speer's mills, making the east fork a splendid basin for the transaction of business. The sight of this small finished portion of the 'mammoth system' calls to our imagination a picture of the wealth, prosperity and independence of the White Water Valley, fifty years hence. It animates the heretofore drooping spirits of our citizens, and is to be discovered in their sparkling eyes, their quick and elastic steps, and in their disposition to improve every moment to turn to profit the advantages they are receiving from the State."

About the middle of December, 1837, the canal at the forks of the river was considerably damaged. About 4,000 yards of embankment was carried away, causing a loss of $1,000. However, this was soon repaired, and by hard work on the part of the contractors the canal was opened during the early part of June, 1839, from Lawrenceburg to Brookville. The first boat to reach Brookville was the "Ben Franklin," which arrived on Saturday evening, June 8. This boat had been in use for a number of years on the Miami canal and was brought down to Lawrenceburg on the Ohio river. It was owned by Long & Westerfield and was commanded by Gen. Elisha Long, but was afterwards bought and its name changed to the "Henry Clay" by Josiah McCafferty. The arrival of this boat at Brookville was the occasion for another demonstration of joy by the citizens. The next morning the packet boat, "Little Western," owned by Wood & Woods, arrived and in the afternoon the packet "Niagara," owned by Squire Watts, came in. These boats left for Lawrenceburg on Monday morning and regular traffic was thus opened on that part of the canal.

The opening of the canal was to the people of that time almost what the inauguration of a line of air ships would be to us, and the change of life which it occasioned by the bringing together, for communication and trade, places that were formerly widely separate in these regards, worked wonders, which were the constant source of surprise and astonishment. For instance, the "Indiana American" of June 14, 1839, contains this notice under the heading, "Strange Arrival":

"There arrived at this place on Wednesday morning last, per

canal boat 'Little Western,' a quantity of very fine Irish potatoes, which were raised in the State of New York and were soon disposed of here at $1.25 per bushel. This appears to be reversing the course of trade!"

The same paper of Aug. 2, 1839, contains this rather ludicrous paragraph:

"The way things are done now: One of our merchants left this place on Monday morning last, by the canal boat 'Little Western.' He went to Cincinnati, purchased a lot of goods, shipped them on board the steamboat 'Hoosier' for Lawrenceburg, reshipped them on board the canal boat and arrived in this place with them about 11 o'clock a. m. on Wednesday, being two days and a fraction from the time he left here."

Besides, it occasioned a great saving on the part of the traveling and shipping public, for later the round trip from Brookville to Cincinnati was regularly made between Monday evening and Wednesday morning at the following expense: Passage to Cincinnati and back, including board, $4; dinner at Cincinnati, fifty cents; one day lost (worth), $1; total, $5.50. This amount is thus compared with the expense of the trip by stage, causing the loss of four days on account of them only running tri-weekly, and occasioning the following items of expense: Passage to Cincinnati and back, $6; dinner on road going and coming, seventy-five cents; fare at ordinary house for three nights and two days, $5; four days lost (worth), $4; total, $15.75; making a saving of $10.25 for one trip.

In November, 1839, it was ordered by the legislature "That, with the exception of the Wabash canal, from Lafayette to the State line, and the dams on other works yet to be preserved, the work at Lawrenceburg and bridges at Harrison, the public works be immediately suspended." This step was necessitated on account of the indebtedness of the State. Thirty and eighty-one hundredths miles of the White Water canal had been completed. A total of $1,009,866.66 had been expended on this work at the close of 1841, while $9,902.41 had been received as tolls. The State found itself at this time in debt in the sum of $18,469,146 and was forced to compromise with her creditors by surrendering to the bondholders part of the works that had been begun, with large tracts of land, for about one-half of the indebtedness, and issuing bonds for the remainder. The debt was a great burden on the people of Indiana and finally caused the bankrutcy of the State. Thus ended the projects which the promoters had hoped would fill the coffers of the State to overflowing.

Through the influence of Samuel W. Parker, of Connersville; J. G. Marshall and Judge J. T. Elliott, of Henry county, and others, the legislature at the session of 1841-42 granted a charter to "The Whitewater Valley Canal Company," composed of the following members: James Connell, Thomas E. Hendricks, Samuel Jinks, Harvey Blacklege, Joel Palmer, Urban Edgerton, and William Potts, of Franklin county; Jefferson Crisler, James Shaw, Daniel Hankins, Solomon Claypool, Abraham Conwell, George Frybarger, Henry Goldlander, Newton Claypool, George Davis, and William Port, of Fayette county; Dickinson Hurst, John Talbott, Robert Murphy, Henry B. Schull, Samuel T. Sharp, Ira Lackey, Solomon Meredith, Benjamin Conklin, William Petty, William Conwell, Sanford Lackey, John Hutchinson, William Elliott, and John Whippo, of Wayne county. According to the charter, the capital stock of the company was to be $500,000, and when $400,000 of this should be subscribed the State should relinquish to the said company "her entire interest in the line of said canal, throughout the whole length thereof, from the Ohio river to the National Road as aforesaid, and all of her estate in, and right and title to, the same, together with all the water privileges, and rents, materials on hand, quarries, relinquishments, rights, and rights of way, privileges and immunities of every kind, growing out of said canal, and all that in any wise appertains to the same," on condition that the company should, within five years after March 1, 1842, complete the canal to the National Road at Cambridge City.

The passage of the act providing for the organization of "The Whitewater Valley Canal Company," and the consequent hope it occasioned for the completion of the canal, renewed the rejoicing of the people in the upper portion of the valley and they again looked forward to an era of prosperity.

According to the charter, the above named members of the company, or any nine of them, should meet at Connersville as soon as convenient or expedient and designate suitable places for the opening of books for the subscription of stock, thirty days' notice to be given of the time and places. This was done, and it was learned from one of the notices in the "Cincinnati Chronicle" that books would be opened on Monday, April 4, 1842, to remain open for ten days, at New Castle, Knightstown, Cambridge City, Centerville, Milton, Connersville, Rushville, Laurel, Brookville, and Lawrenceburg. This notice was signed by James Conwell, president of the company, and H. Goodlander, secretary. Stock sold readily and the "Indiana American" tells us that on June 17 suffi-

cient stock had been subscribed to insure the completion of the canal, and on July 25, the directors of the company met at Connersville and elected Meredith Helm, president; William Thomas, secretary, at a salary of $500; Henry Goodlander, treasurer, at a salary of $400; and H. C. Moore, engineer, at a salary of $1,000. Thomas declined to serve as secretary and John W. Hitt was elected in his place, Aug. 3.

In order to fittingly celebrate the resumption of operation on the canal a great demonstration, at which a barbecue was to be a feature, was planned to be held at Cambridge City, July 28. A committee of forty was appointed, among whom were George G. Shoup, of Laurel, and General Long, of Brookville. Invitations to attend were extended to Hons. Henry Clay and Richard M. Jackson, of Kentucky; Hon. Thomas Ewing, Governor Corwin, Governor Shannon, and others, of Ohio; and Governor Bigger, ex-Governor Noble, ex-Governor Wallace, O. H. Smith, and Howard, of Indiana. On the 28th people poured into Cambridge City from fifty miles around, most of them on horseback. Some who came from Blackford and Wells counties spent three days in making the trip and return. By the time of the beginning of the exercises a crowd variously estimated at from 7,000 to 15,000 people, was there. The first exercises of the day were held on the site of the canal, where Samuel W. Parker, who was afterward a member of Congress from this district, and Hon. John T. Elliott, afterward a member of the Supreme Court, broke ground and wheeled out the first and second wheelbarrow loads of earth, respectively. Parker's witty speech on this occasion was much commented on by those present. The crowd then went to Capital Hill, east of town, where the great barbecue was held. Long trenches had been dug in the ground and iron bars placed across, over which were thrown quarters and large pieces of meat, which were soon made away with by the hungry crowd, while the three brass bands present played spirited airs. James Raridan, of Centerville, was the presiding officer, while Mr. Parker was the orator of the day. The latter had spoken ten or fifteen minutes in an unusually spirited manner when he was unfortunately interrupted by a great storm which suddenly came up and caused the crowd to disperse. At a banquet held during the day, letters were read from Henry Clay, members of Congress, and other prominent personages expressing interest and encouragement in the work which had been undertaken.

The new company set to work with much spirit, and by Nov.

17, 1842, the first boat was able to reach Laurel. This boat was called "The Native" and was the first boat built at Cedar Grove. Stephen Coffin was its builder and captain. It was a combination passenger and freight boat and was fitted up in a manner that was considered luxurious for those days. There were two cabins, with state rooms ranged on the side for the accommodation of the traveling public. On the trip to Laurel "The Native" was crowded with ladies and gentlemen from Brookville, who were entertained by the Brookville band as they glided over the smooth waters of the canal. The crowd was royally entertained at Laurel and started on their return the next day at 11 o'clock. Some of the citizens of Laurel accompanied them part of the way, and on parting, the Yankee custom of speech-making was indulged in by Messrs. Shoup, Farquhar and Moore, At Metamora, the crowd was entertained by Judge Mount, Ezekiel Tyner, Esq., and others. A. R. Ryman, in the "Brookville American" of Jan. 13, 1898, tells about going to Laurel on one of the first boats. The boat was the "Clinton," and on the way up the passengers assembled in the cabin and listened to speeches by Captain Farquhar and James N. Tyner, afterward a member of Congress. At Laurel a free supper, set on long tables lighted by tallow candles, was partaken of and the people there showed their usual hospitality. However, it rained heavily during the night and the canal banks broke, which compelled the company to walk home through the mud and rain.

The canal was opened to Connersville on June 21, 1845. The first boat to arrive there was the "Patriot," commanded by Capt. Gayle Ford. In October of the same year the canal was opened to Cambridge City. This was the climax of all the preceding events, for it marked the practical completion of the project as first planned. Twenty boats had been waiting for a long time on the lower part of the canal for the water to be let in at Cambridge City. When the welcome news finally arrived that the water was in there was a great rush. Each captain wanted his boat to be the first to reach the northern terminus, and in the rivalry for first place there was quite a little swearing indulged in and any number of fights. These were renewed at every lock, but Capt. John Lemon, of the "Belle of the West," finally secured the lead, with Capt. Josiah McCafferty, of the "Belle of Indiana," a close second. Every packet was crowded with passengers, each one eager to be one of the first to ascend the completed canal. At Milton the boats were received by a great crowd, cannons were

fired, a band played, and the people gave vent to their enthusiasm by shouts of joy. At Cambridge City there was a much larger crowd, with more cannonading, bands and enthusiasm. The State officers were there and a great jubilee was held which lasted all night and most of the next day. Thus was put into operation, after an expenditure of $473,000 by the company, the great day-dream of the people of the White Water valley of ten years before; but unfortunately, although begun under the most auspicious circumstances, and more than filled their expectations for a time, yet the hand of inexorable fate and the onward march of progress were to make it end in miserable failure.

About the time of the completion of the canal to Cambridge City the directors of the company were: John Curm, Cambridge City; Caleb B. Jackson, near Centerville; Daniel Sinks, Milton; Miles Murphy, New Castle; Solomon Claypool, Fayette county; Minor Meeker, Fayette county; Benjamin F. Reeve, Rush county; and David Mount, Franklin county. The officers were the same as first, with the exception of L. B. Tupper, secretary.

The construction of the locks was a great work and their state of preservation attest the substantiality of the work of the engineers of that day. They were variously named. The location and names of some of them were as follows: Marshall's, Fox's, Trenton, Bernise's, Rhubottom's, Cedar Grove, a guard lock at Case's, Wiley's (2), Tyner's, a guard lock below Brookville, Brookville at the Basin, Reed's, Boundary Hill, Yellow Bank, Twin Locks, Gordon's, Metamora, Murray's, Ferris's, Jenks, Laurel, Hetrick's, Garrison Creek, Connell's, Berlin, Nullton, Updegraff's, Heron's, at Connersville, Claypool's, Carmen's, Fourmile, Swamp Level, Lockport (2), Milton.

That which has been said above has been about the White Water valley canal proper. This chapter will not be complete, however, without something being said concerning the two branch canals that were built, the one from Harrison to Cincinnati and the other from Cambridge City to Hagerstown.

The Cincinnati branch was constructed as a result of agitation by the business men of Cincinnati, who wished that that city might get the benefit of the products of the White Water valley instead of Lawrenceburg. On May 8, 1837, books were opened at Cincinnati for the sale of stock for the execution of this project. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of stock was taken by the State, $200,000 by the city and $100,000 by general subscription. It was found necessary to construct a tunnel

through the ridge which separates the Ohio and Great Miami rivers at North Bend. This tunnel was afterwards used by the White Water Valley railroad and was yet in use somewhat less than twenty years ago. This branch was about twenty miles long, and according to the "Indiana American" the water was let in early in November, 1847.

The first surveys for the White Water canal contemplated beginning at the mouth of Nettle creek, which is just below Hagerstown, but, according to the act of 1836, and the one which turned the canal over to the company, it was begun at the National Road. But the people at Hagerstown were wide awake and were determined to have the same advantages as the neighboring town of Cambridge City. In fact, the situation demanded it, for at that time Hagerstown had some manufacturing establishments that were rivaling those of Richmond, and as it was surrounded by a rich farming country it was necessary that they should have the advantage of the new method of trade and communication in order to compete with other towns of the county. The first meeting of the citizens to take steps for the construction of the branch canal was held in Wesley Williamson's drug store at Hagerstown, in 1846. Mr. Williamson was chairman of the meeting and A. B. Knode, secretary. At the close of this meeting the Hagerstown Canal Company was organized, with Jacob Ulrich, president, and Wesley Williamson, secretary. George Gillespie was appointed general manager of construction and William Davis his assistant. Among those who were active in furthering the work of the company were Hiram Mendenhall and Mr. Allen. However, practically everyone in the vicinity supported the project. Stock was issued in $50 and $5 shares. This was bought readily by the people of the neighborhood. Besides, it is said that the Dunkards from the community of that sect at Hagerstown, took their teams, wagons, and scoops and labored without pay beside the hired laborers. John Minesinger was appointed engineer and surveyor for the work. Some of the contractors were: Hiram Mendenhall, James Putney, Barney Linderman, Andrus Wiggins, and Joseph Madden. Benjamin Conklin built the part from Symond's creek to Cambridge City and built the two locks at the latter place for the right of water power for his mill. Mat Luce, of Hagerstown, constructed the remaining four locks. This branch was finally completed the next year (1847) at a cost of about $100,000, and was successfully operated until the lower canal was abandoned.

The people of the White Water valley had anticipated great results from the construction of the canal, but many of these proved to be bubbles and burst. For instance, sites were selected along the banks of the canal for the location of large cities. Laurel was one of these places, and although it was a thriving place in canal days, its growth fell far short of expectations. Lockport, about four miles south of Milton, was another of these cities in embryo. Streets and building lots were laid out so that there would not be confusion and disorder in rapid growth. However, the call of the bobwhite is still heard in that neighborhood; the prosperous farmers yet harvest their ample crops and enjoy the peace and quiet of country life; no noisy machinery turned by the water of the canal disturbs the peaceful stillness; and the rushing trains on the White Water division of the Big Four do not even slow up there, nor do the conductors call out the name of Lockport for the convenience of the traveling public.

Nevertheless, the benefits that the canal did bring to the valley are incalculable. The first of these was that it gave the farmers of the region an easy, quick market for their produce and made the towns along the canal ports for the shipment of produce for miles around. Farmers hauled their grain for fifty miles and more, and in one instance grain was hauled to Milton from points north of Noblesville. Every town became the camp for wagon trains, many of the wagons being of the schooner type and drawn by six horses, which had to wait often to be unloaded at the overfilled warehouses. The second benefit was to manufactures. This phase was considered as one of the important results of the construction of the canal by the legislature of 1836. The water power it furnished was good and abundant and caused many industries to spring up. For instance, there were three flour mills at Laurel, four at Metamora, one at Alpine, two at Brookville, one at Cedar Grove, three at Harrison, one at Lawrenceburg, two at Connersville, one at Milton, one at Cambridge City, and one at Hagerstown. There were three saw mills at Brookville, one south of Laurel, one at Alpine, one at Harrison, one at Lawrenceburg, and two at Connersville. There was a woolen mill and a cotton mill at Metamora, two woolen mills at Connersville, and one at Milton. A still house was located at Metamora; also one at Harrison and one at Milton. There was an iron foundry established at Connersville and also one at Hagerstown. Then there were pork houses everywhere; Brookville had two, Connersville two, and Milton three, besides one or more at every other place. As a

natural consequence, also, boat building and repairing became a great industry and boatyards were instituted at many places. Among these were the firm of T. Morse & Company, at Cedar Grove, one owned by Nathaniel Tingle, at Milton, and one opposite Manlove Park, north of Milton. Population also increased greatly during this period. For instance, Brookville was not incorporated until the southern end of the canal was put in operation.

At first there were twenty or thirty boats in operation on the canal, and as these were inadequate for the rapidly increasing business, many more were built and there were soon quite a fleet of them. Besides those previously mentioned, the names of some of the boats with some of their owners or builders were as follows: "Milton Torchlight" and "George Hopkins," both built by Nathaniel Tingle, of Milton; "The Swan," "Mayflower," and "Fashion," owned by Augustus Boden, father of George Boden, of Cambridge City; "The Erie," "Clara," and "Tempest," operated by Charles Anderson and John Deemster, of Cambridge City; the "Sevastopol," "Rover," and "Isaac Myer," owned by John C. Adams, of the same place; the "Rochester Gas Light" and the "Thomas Newley." Some boat owners were: a Mr. Stevenson, of Milton; and Valentine Sell, Samuel Williams, Alexander Crowley, Michael Johnsonborough, and the Densmore Brothers, of Cambridge City. Some prominent shippers were: Alexander Crowley, George Gillespie, Mark E. Reeves, and Arnold, Root & Howe, of Hagerstown, and John Peterson, of Milton.

Many passengers were carried on the comfortable packet boats and excursion parties were quite numerous. The fare to Cincinnati and return, including board and lodging was $3, and the trip took the greater part of a week. During the early days of the canal it was considered a great treat to take a trip on the canal to Lawrenceburg and then go up the Ohio to Cincinnati or down to Louisville on a river steamer, and one who took such a trip was looked upon as one who had seen much of the world.

Business flourished on the canal and large warehouses were built at every port for the accommodation of shippers. At Milton four of these were built, respectively, by Daniel Sinks, Hopkins & Hiatt, Jesse Hiatt, and L. C. Chamberlain. The building erected by Hopkins & Hiatt is still standing. It is the north wing of the brick building formerly used by the Hoosier Drill Company and the Dorsey Machinery Company as a factory. Cambridge City had some large warehouses also. One of them, owned by Dun-

moor & Johnson, is advertised in the "Free Territory Sentinel," published at Centerville, May 9, 1849, as the largest in the country. The firm bought large quantities of wheat and flax seed and shipped twice a week by their own boats. One of the warehouses at Hagerstown was owned by Henry Harris. From three to six boats loaded and unloaded daily at most of the towns and boat owners prospered, as they often made a net profit of from $200 to $300 on a single trip. The toll was usually $25 per trip for an empty boat and $75 for a loaded one. To be captain of a canal boat was considered quite an honor, and those who were so fortunate as to get these positions were looked upon as prominent persons in their communities. The crew of a boat usually consisted of a captain, two steersmen, a cook and a driver. The boats were drawn by two horses or mules hitched tandem, and according to a State law could not make more than four miles an hour. Many of the boats had stalls on board where the tired animals could rest by turns. However, some changed teams at certain stations. These places were Connersville, Brookville, Harrison, and Cleves. There was great rivalry between boat crews and there were great times when one boat would try to pass another, although a State law provided that when a boat should catch up with another and desire to pass, the latter should stop, turn to the right hand and permit it to do so. The entire crew often became involved in fights on these occasions, and in one circumstance down near Cleves, Ohio, one man was killed.

All kinds of freight were hauled, from wheat to eggs and from salt to building stone. The following is the report of shipments and receipts at Connersville for the week ending Nov. 20, 1845:

	Exports	Imports
Wheat, No. of bu.	1,506	....
Cider, barrels	13	....
Industries, pounds	6,010	8,993
Merchandise, pounds	....	8,189
Salt and castings, lbs.	....	150
Lumber, feet	....	700

It is interesting to note that the first rails used in construction and also the first locomotive used on the Pennsylvania railroad, between Richmond and Cambridge City, came up the canal, as well as the timber and iron used in the construction of the old court house at Greenfield, Hancock county.

Caleb Jackson was superintendent of the canal for a time, and an interesting joke on him is related in this connection by George Callaway, of Milton. One of the superintendent's duties was to see that the canal was in good condition and as the banks were being badly damaged by muskrats, Jackson offered ten cents a piece for their tails. Accordingly the boys at Milton arranged this scheme: One of them would take some muskrat tails to Mr. Jackson, receive his money and go away, but soon turn around and stealthily follow Jackson down the canal to see where he threw the tails. When this was ascertained, another boy would get them and repeat the operation, and so on, until all the boys of the village had enough spending money to last them several days. Mr. Jackson finally discovered the plot and afterward threw the tails into the canal. Jackson's successor in office was John Limpus.

The canal depended entirely for its supply of water on the west fork of White Water. The water was received by means of feeders from dams at Cambridge City, Lockport, Nulltown, Laurel, Metamora, Brookville, and Harrison. The fact that these dams were narrow, making them easily damaged by high water, together with the unfortunate fact that the canal was placed too low, and was thus easily damaged by floods, were the great reasons for the failure of this costly enterprise. Everything had been going along smoothly and the prospects pointed to an unprecedented growth and development in the White Water valley, when, on Jan. 1, 1847, a great flood, which carried away the aqueduct across Symond's creek, near Cambridge City, and also the one across the west fork of White Water, at Laurel, damaged all the dams, and occasioned a loss of $100,000 to the company.

Scarcely had the repairs been completed when a second deluge came, in November, 1848, and damaged the work to the extent of $80,000. It seemed that the canal must be abandoned, but by great effort the money was raised, repairs were made and operations resumed. The farmers of the valley had products which they had to get to market or lose, and consequently they readily gave their money to help the company out of the difficulty. A third flood came in 1853, which practically put the canal out of business. Hon. James Rariden, of Cambridge City, was president of the canal company at this time.

The canal company issued script of various denominations which was used throughout the valley as money. However, it soon depreciated and became finally worthless.

One of the last boats to make the trip between Connersville

and Cambridge City was taken up by Sherman Schoffield. It is also said that the late Valentine Sell, of Cambridge City, took a load of meat to Connersville in 1864. The last boat reached Hagerstown in 1861. It was owned by a Mr. Stevenson, of Milton. He was compelled to return at once on account of a washout near Symond's creek.

Judgments to the amount of $63,000 had accumulated against the company; its stock became worthless; its credit impaired; and the Circuit Court appointed a Mr. Hamlin as receiver. In 1863 the legislature passed an enabling act which made it possible for the White Water railroad to occupy the towpath of the canal, but it was stipulated that nothing be done to interfere with water power then in use. Henry C. Lord was the active agent in bringing about this legislation, and on Dec. 25, 1865, he bought the canal property of the company for $137,348.12. Hon. C. C. Binkley, of Richmond, who was at that time president of the company, negotiated the sale.

The act of the legislature, however, provided for the organization of hydraulic companies to perpetuate the water power for which the old canal company had contracted. These leases were mostly for twenty years with the privilege of renewal.

As a result of this legislation the following companies were organized: The Connersville Hydraulic Company, the Metamora Hydraulic Company, the Laurel Hydraulic Company, the Brookville Hydraulic Company, and the Harrison Hydraulic Company.

These companies had the same trouble with floods as the old company and they sustained so much damage that at present only two of these companies are in existence—the Connersville Hydraulic Company and the Brookville Hydraulic Company. The dam at Lockport, owned by the former company, was damaged in 1867 to the extent of $5,000. From Heron's lock, one mile below Connersville, to one mile below Laurel, and from Brookville south, the canal has been entirely abandoned and water no more flows in its banks.

The Connersville Hydraulic Company was organized in December, 1865, with a capital of $10,000. The following were the officers: President, P. H. Roots; secretary, Samuel Enyart; board of directors, P. H. and F. M. Roots and Matthew Pfafflin. A lease was obtained from the canal company, in February, 1866, approved by the receiver and the United States Circuit Court of the Southern District of Indiana, for the consideration of $1 in

money and the carrying out of the provisions of the old leases for water power. This portion of the canal is in very good condition and yet supplies water to North's Mill at Milton, several mills and factories at Connersville, and also furnishes the city of Connersville with water for fire and domestic purposes. The water has been analyzed and found to be of exceptional purity. The present officers are: F. T. Roots, president; M. H. Roots, vice-president; and E. D. Johnson, secretary.

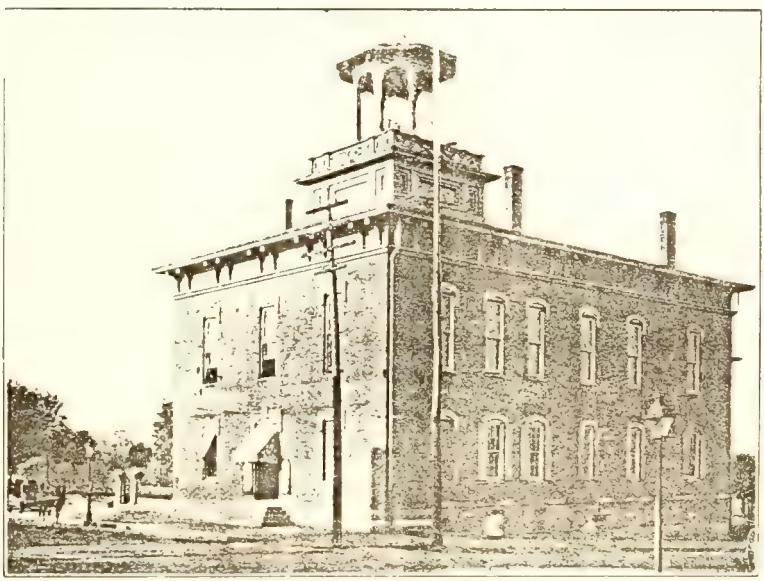
The portion of the canal from just below Laurel to Brookville was owned for several years by Henry C. Kimble, proprietor of the Nickle Plate Mills at Brookville, but is now owned by the Midland Paper Company, of which Mr. Bratt is the head.

The Hagerstown branch, unlike the rest of the canal, has never suffered much from floods on account of the wisdom of John Minesinger, chief-engineer of the section, who placed it high enough to escape high water. The canal is now in excellent condition. The banks are almost intact, and even during the dry season there is abundance of water for power.

Thus, we have seen the rise and fall of a great undertaking. Fortunes were lost; hopes shattered; and ambitions foiled. But with all that, the value of the work in the development of the State in general and the growth of the White Water valley in particular, has been inestimable. It furnished transportation at a time when no other means were available, and power which resulted in the inauguration of manufacturing in the valley. For instance, it was from the little group of manaufacturing establishments started at Connersville and Brookville when the canal was built that those two thriving towns owe their present prosperity. It was the water power at Connersville that attracted the old woolen mill, the flour and saw mills and Root's foundry, and it was from this nucleus that the great factories there to-day have sprung. In general, as a result of the construction of the canal, the farmers thrived, manufacturing grew up, business flourished, population increased, and prosperity reigned. But the canal had its day and it gave way to inevitable progress. The era of the iron horse came and superseded the patient mule, and the canal boat has become a memory in the White Water valley.

It is said with truth that the present is built on the wrecks of the past. One of these wrecks, which built better than we can tell, is the old White Water canal, picturesque in its ruin and a monument to past endeavor.

OLD COURT HOUSE AT CENTERVILLE



FIRST COURT HOUSE IN RICHMOND

CHAPTER X.

CENTERVILLE.

WHITE WATER COLLEGE—CHURCHES—PUBLIC HOUSES—SAMUEL HANNAH—JAMES RARIDEN—JOHN FINLEY—AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE—CHARLES H. TEST—OLD COURT HOUSE.

WHITE WATER COLLEGE.

The history of White Water College, founded by the Methodist Episcopal church in 1853, might fill a volume, but it can be given only mere mention here. It was a great school and many prominent men were teachers there, among them being Dr. Cyrus Nutt, George B. Joslyn, Dr. Edwards, H. N. Barnes, and Prof. A. C. Shortridge.

Previous to the establishment of the college a county seminary occupied the ground. In 1827 the west wing was built, and in 1842, when more room was needed, an east wing was added. The two buildings were connected by a covered passage way, with the former seminary buildings as west and east wings. Rev. Samuel K. Hoshour taught in the old seminary in the west wing. Among the teachers in the east wing were Miss Mary Thorp, Miss Sarah Dickenson, and Rawson Vaile. Among the pupils of after fame was Lew Wallace, and there are those who remember how the future soldier, diplomat, and author, was once roundly flogged by Mr. Hoshour. After the decline of the college the building was sold, in 1870, to the school trustees and became the public school building. It was destroyed by fire in 1891 and was succeeded by the present fine public school-house. At the foot of Main Cross street stands the ruins of a brick school-house, where many of the older citizens received a part of their education.

CHURCHES.

The first church organized here was the Methodist Episcopal. When the county seat was pulled up by the roots at Salisbury and transplanted at Centerville, the Methodist church came with

it. There had been no church building at Salisbury, the congregation having met in the court house, and prior to the building of a meeting house here the congregation met at the houses of members.

In 1828 a frame church was built. It was situated east of where the Christian church now stands and fronted on the east. Mr. N. Parrott's stable now occupies the spot where the church stood. There was a street north of the county buildings, where there is now an alley, which led to the church from the west. The parsonage was on the church grounds, west of the church, and stood there after the church was torn away. It was moved to Walnut street and is now the home of Mr. Dearth. In 1834 the conference, then comprising the entire State, was held in this church, the venerable Bishop Roberts presiding. In the year 1842 the present brick church was completed. It was at that time not only the finest Methodist church in the State, but the finest one in the State belonging to any church organization. Upon the completion of the new church, in 1842, the conference was again held here. Bishop Simpson dedicated the church and presided at the conference. In 1882 the building underwent repairs and was rededicated by the Rev. A. Marine.

It must be remembered that although the Friends were not the first to form a society in the town, they were the first religious society in the township and organized the West Grove Meeting in 1813, three miles northwest of Centerville, and built a log meeting house. Thus the leaven of the old church at West Grove has been leavening ever since.

The Cumberland Presbyterian church was organized in 1842, Rev. LeRoy Woods officiating. Mr. Woods was the pastor for several years and was succeeded by Elam McCord. A Sunday school was organized in connection with the church. For some time after the organization meetings were held in the Methodist church. In 1849 the congregation built a church on the west side of north Main Cross street, which is now the Knights of Pythias hall.

The Disciples or Christian church was organized about 1832. A Baptist church had existed earlier. The old meeting house was situated some distance north of where the railroad station now is. About 1837 the Baptist organization disbanded and a greater part of the members united with the Christian church. The present Christian church was erected in 1878.

The Presbyterian church was organized in 1866. The first

services were held in Snider Hall, the present town hall. In 1868 the congregation erected the brick church on south Main Cross street. Chief among the zealous members of the church was Mrs. Kate U. Johnson—wife of Judge Nimrod Johnson and the mother of Henry U. and Robert U. Johnson—and it was through her efforts as a solicitor and contributor that the church was built. After the removal of the county seat and the decline of the town the church was purchased by the Friends and is now their house of worship.

PUBLIC HOUSES.

The early hotels or taverns were important institutions in their early days. Rachel Neal is said to have been the first innkeeper. There are people now living who remember Mrs. Neal, but where her inn was situated we have not been able to learn.

The old Major Gay tavern, opposite the public square, where there is now a livery stable, was fitted up in 1834, by Thomas G. Noble, and it was occupied by him for several years. Gen. Samuel DeLong succeeded Mr. Noble for several years.

In 1830 William Elliott built the frame hotel on the southeast corner of the public square and occupied it until 1835. John Hutchinson succeeded Mr. Elliott and kept an excellent house. In 1838 Daniel Lashley, with his mother and younger brother, Alfred, purchased the tavern. Among all the hotel keepers of Wayne county none were more favorably known than the Lashleys. They continued in the business in the same house for many years. It was headquarters for many of the prominent men of the legal profession. Judge Perry, of Richmond, always made it his home while attending court. It was a home-like, well ordered, and excellent hotel. Mr. Lashley was the best of hosts. The Lashley house was moved from the public square some years ago to where it now stands, a few squares east of the old location. A fine brick residence occupies the site. This was built for the sheriff's house and is now the residence of the Frazer brothers and Miss Frazer. The old Lashley house is now a private residence. John King was the last to keep it as a hotel. In 1833 John Dorsey fitted up the large frame building, nearly opposite the bank, for a hotel and occupied it for some time. He was succeeded by John Allison, Abbott W. Bowers and John Winders. Solomon Brumfield bought the property and occupied it. Under his management it was well kept.

In 1837 Henry Rowan fitted up a small tavern east of the

public square and kept it several years. He afterward erected a three-story building adjoining, which is now the residence of Lloyd K. Hill.

Samuel Hannah kept the American House on the southwest corner of Main street. He was a merchant, also, and had his store in the corner room. Later, the American House was kept by Emsley Hamm, T. L. Rowan, and others. The building is now owned by Simon McConaha.

The Jones House is the last in the line of the old hostelries. The south half was built by Emsley Hamm. The north half was built by Daniel Shank. Subsequently, Mr. Hamm bought the north part from Mr. Shank and kept a hotel for some years. He afterwards sold the house to Dr. C. J. Woods and moved to Economy, and upon his return to Centerville kept the American House for two years. Norris Jones, who succeeded Mr. Hamm, gave the name to the house and for several years kept an excellent, though small hotel.

Samuel Hannah, although at one time a hotel keeper and merchant, filled many important places. He was a man of distinction. The young people who compiled a "Who-When-What" book had some trouble not to confuse him with the other Samuel Hanna, of Indiana, who lived at Fort Wayne. There is a difference in the spelling of the name. The "Who-When-What" book gives a brief sketch of Samuel Hannah: "A pioneer of Wayne county; member of the Society of Friends; conspicuous for opposition to the collection of the fines from Quakers who refused to do military duty. A native of Delaware, born Dec. 1, 1789, Mr. Hannah came to Indiana as a young man; served as sheriff of Wayne county; member of the legislature; was justice of the peace and member of the county board; was appointed postmaster at Centerville by John Quincy Adams and removed by Andrew Jackson, in pursuance of the Marcy proclamation, 'To the victors belong the spoils.' He was one of the commissioners appointed to locate the Michigan road, the great highway authorized from Lake Michigan to the Ohio river; also a commissioner to select the lands to be ceded to the State by an Indian treaty. Afterward Mr. Hannah was a member of the legislature and treasurer of the State; removed to Indianapolis in 1847; became interested in railroad construction and improvements; was first treasurer of the Indiana Central Railroad Company. He died Sept. 8, 1869. Mr. Hannah possessed the rugged elements of strength and manhood

which qualify men for frontier life; for developing the material resources and building a commonwealth on justice and liberty."

The red brick school-house opposite Mr. Lashley's was the home of Judge John C. Kibbey, who was so well known here and at Richmond. The place is now the home of Andrew Dunbar.

The brick house on the corner, west of the Trumbull residence, was built by Rawson Vaile, a teacher in the old seminary and also a teacher in Richmond. He was a brother of Dr. Joel Vaile, of Richmond, a prominent physician and public school trustee, after whom one of the school-houses of Richmond is named.

Judge Nimrod Johnson bought the Vaile property and this was the Johnson homestead for many years. Here Henry U. and Robert U. Johnson spent their boyhood. Judge Johnson was not only eminent in the legal profession, but he was a man of vast literary knowledge. Mrs. Johnson was Miss Kate Underwood and was a native of Washington, D. C.

The quaint old house, now the home of Mrs. Jennie Savage, was, in the old time, the Doughty home. Samuel Doughty was a merchant. His store was where Jacob Wolfe's is now. Mr. Doughty had his home in Richmond in later years, and died there some time ago.

The house where Mrs. Gibson lives, on Walnut street, was the Dill home. It is an old-time place, with Colonial pillars to the portico. Mr. Dill was a cabinet maker, and went to Richmond many years ago.

The large white brick house on north Main Cross street, known as the Prichett property, was built by Judge Williams, or rather the south end was. Judge John S. Newman built the north end. This was a grand mansion in its day. Judge Newman was a Quaker lawyer and for ten years a partner of Jesse Siddall. He was of the Hoover stock. His wife was Eliza, daughter of Samuel Hannah; his daughter, Gertrude, married Ingram Fletcher, of Indianapolis. He was the first president of the Indiana Central railroad and held many other responsible positions. He removed to Indianapolis in 1860. Dr. Prichett bought the house of Judge Newman. It was the Prichett homestead for many years. Here Dr. Prichett and his estimable wife passed their declining years. The house was inherited by the daughter, Miss Mary Prichett.

Opposite the Prichett house, on the east, is a frame house where Jeremiah Wayne Swafford lived the last thirty years of his life, and there he peacefully died at the age of eighty-four. Mr.

Swafford was a pioneer of Wayne county and justice of the peace nearly all his life and up to the time of his death. He was widely known as a business man in Wayne and adjoining counties.

In the early days, before this large house was built, there were two small frame dwellings on the lot. One was the home of Rev. Mr. Rupe, the father of attorney John Rupe, of Richmond. The other frame building was the home for a while of Dr. Rose. His wife, Henrietta Rose, was a lady of attainment and a writer of some note. She was the author of a small volume entitled "Nora Wilmot; a Tale of Temperance and Woman's Rights," published in 1858. The frontispiece is a quaint old wood cut—"The Ladies' Knitting Party at Tradewell's Saloon." The thread of the story runs through that period when Indiana had a prohibitory liquor law, which was declared unconstitutional by Judge Perkins of the Supreme Court of Indiana.

James Rariden, one of the eminent men of his time, lived where Mrs. James M. Hill now resides. The grounds included the lot where the Christian church now stands. A summer house, covered with vines and flowers and shrubbery, gave the spot an air of rural retreat. But this lovely spot was too much retired and Mr. Rariden moved into a brick house on West Main street. It was in this house that Mr. Rariden entertained Henry Clay when that gentleman made his tour through Indiana. A reception was held in the evening for the great Kentuckian. The children as well as the older people attended. Mr. Clay was very fond of children and kissed them all. Mrs. Ensley was then little Sarah Hamm and remembers being kissed. Mr. Clay said to little Gertrude Newman, now Mrs. Ingram Fletcher: "My dear, you have a pretty name, but it ought to be pronounced 'Jertrude.'" And to a boy he said: "You have a very large mouth, but that does not matter, in a boy." As Mr. Clay had a large mouth this remark caused a hearty laugh all round. It was in this house that Mr. Clay authorized a committee to offer freedom to his body servant, the petted slave Charlie, who declined to leave his master. The house has changed owners several times in recent years and is at present the home of Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Eliason. After Mr. Rariden left the rural retreat Rosswell Elmer and wife occupied it. They were the parents of Charles N. Elmer and Mrs. James Forkner.

John Finley, the poet, and for many years the mayor of Richmond, when clerk of the Wayne county court resided in a small house on Plum street, near the Elmer house. The cottage and

extensive gardens of E. Y. Teas, the well known florist, was for years the home of Henry Noble, who later removed to Indianapolis Two houses on an elevation north of the railroad, always attracting attention of travelers, are notable mansions of the olden time. The one on the west was built by Samuel Hannah. James Forkner improved it and occupied it until he removed to Richmond. It is now the property of C. L. Porter and the home of Thomas Clark. On the east of this is the mansion built by Daniel Strattan. He was a tanner by trade and a prominent citizen. Beautiful for situation is the fine old mansion south of the railroad, built by Jacob B. Julian. It was the family residence previous to his removal to Irvington. On the west of Mr. Seaton was the home of Jesse Stevens, a pioneer of Centerville. Mrs. John Paige, of Richmond, and Mrs. Henry Noble, of Indianapolis, were daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Stevens. The house is now the home of Mrs. Nichols. A large brick house on the south side of Main street, the home of Jesse Brumfield, was built by Martin Hornish, a shoemaker and a prosperous citizen. Judge Stitt lived where H. H. Peelle now lives, and next, on the east, was the home of Judge Jesse Siddall. Farther east on Main street is a substantial brick house, built by George W. Julian, which was the family residence for many years previous to removal to Irvington. Dr. Silas H. Kersey bought the property and made it his family residence for several years. It was in this house that Dr. Kersey died. It is now the residence of I. L. Houck. Opposite, on the north, on the site of George Sanders', stood one of the oldest houses of Centerville. Mrs. Rebecca Julian lived there at one time. Her husband, Isaac Julian, died and left her a widow with a family of children. She was a sister of Judge David Hoover—a pioneer of Wayne county—and the mother of George W. Julian. Across the street to the east is the brick house that was long the home of Dr. William F. King, deceased. The house is now the residence of his daughter, Miss Emilie King. Northeast, on the same square, is an old frame house, one of the oldest now standing in Centerville. It was the residence of James B. Ray, afterwards governor of Indiana. C. Cooney now resides there.

On West Main street, where H. C. Means now lives, was the residence of Martin M. Ray, a brother of Governor Ray. He was a lawyer and a merchant as well. His store was in the corner building occupied now by Tillson's drug store. Frederick Snider, a merchant, had his store where Mr. King now has a restaurant. On West Main street, where Bert Horner now lives, is the house

built by Thomas Gentry, a tanner and one of the substantial citizens. Lot Bloomfield built the house where Isaac Jenkins now lives. He was a merchant of the place. His wife was Elizabeth Talbot, a sister of Mrs. Hamm and Mrs. Dr. Prichett. The Simon McConaha home was built by Dr. Prichett, who occupied it before he bought the Judge Newman place. The old house with dormer windows, residence of the late Alfred Lashley, in the old time was the residence of Henry Beitzell. The old Burbank home was on the south side of Main street, opposite the court house. The house was partially destroyed by fire in later years. Mr. Burbank was a merchant. The parlors and family apartments were upstairs over the store. The Burbank young people were well educated and were prominent in social circles. It was in this home that Oliver P. Morton was married to Lucinda Burbank.

Ambrose E. Burnside, afterward a lawyer at Liberty, Union county, and a general of renown in the Union army, worked at the tailor's trade in a building adjoining, and on the site of Dr. Gable's residence and office once stood a large hatter's shop, where the boy, Oliver P. Morton, learned his trade. Morton was born at Salisbury. He was left an orphan and was brought, when a child, by his aunts to Centerville, where he learned the trade with an older brother. Early in life he attended the seminary here and Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, and was always a profound student. The early years of Morton's married life were passed in a frame house on the northeast corner of south Main Cross street. The homestead known as the Morton mansion, on West Main street, was built by Jacob B. Julian. Mr. Julian was a tree planter and his lawn was a landscape garden, where nature was permitted to rule. When Mr. Julian built his stately home near the railroad he sold this Eden spot to Oliver P. Morton. Here a liberal and unostentatious hospitality was dispensed by Morton and his amiable wife. It was while living in this house that Morton was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Henry S. Lane. Judge William A. Peelle bought the Morton mansion after his term as secretary of state expired. Judge Peelle died there on July 1, 1902. The house is now the home of his daughter, Miss Martha L. Peelle.

Judge Charles H. Test lived on Main street, where the town hall now stands. Mrs. James Rariden was his sister. It was considered that Judge Test, while eminent as a lawyer, was by nature pre-eminent and unequaled. He bore off the palm as the homeliest man in Indiana. Adjoining the school-house campus, on the east,

is the old homestead of Stephen Crowe, one of the early blacksmiths of the place. Mr. Crowe sold the house to John Peelle, an old settler, and Samuel Boyd, a retired farmer, bought the place from Mr. Peelle and passed the remainder of his days there. The property is now the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Lashley. The house on the east, now the residence of J. A. Commons, was the home of Sylvester Johnson, now of Irvington, and a well known horticulturist.

Many do not know that the substantial brick building on the northeast corner of Main street was, in the palmy days of Centerville, the court house of Wayne county. It is now the business house of T. C. Dunbar, while the extension to the north, where Mr. Dunbar resides, was once the sheriff's house and jail. The extension on the east was the county office.

CHAPTER XI.

NEWPORT IN ANTI-SLAVERY TIMES.

LOCATION—NAME CHANGED TO FOUNTAIN CITY—EARLY INDUSTRIES—EDUCATION AND RELIGION—IMMIGRATION OF FRIENDS—ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT—ANTI-SLAVERY NEWSPAPER—LEVI COFFIN AND THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD—ELIZA HARRIS AND OTHERS RECEIVE ASSISTANCE—DIVISION IN THE FRIENDS' CHURCH—ANTI-SALOON SENTIMENT IN THE VILLAGE.

Newport, as our fathers like to call it, is located on the west bank of Noland's Fork, in the south central part of New Garden township, Wayne county, in the State of Indiana. In 1818 the town was laid out, by Solon Thomas and Reden Chance, on the forty acres owned by George Shugart, who lived about a mile east of what is now Fountain City. At this time the northern boundary was a tiny stream called "The Branch"; the eastern the creek; the southern, the south limit of the present park; and the western, what is now Green street.

Since there was another Newport, in Vermillion county, a letter had to be addressed, Newport, Wayne county, Indiana, to reach its proper destination. However, this was not always done and the mail was continually being missent. To make matters more complicated the express office* was called Newport. Whether the Postoffice Department or the express company asked for the changing of the name or not the citizens of Newport agreed to change it. Some suggested the name Fountain City, but others said they would be laughed at, for it was only a town and not a city. Then Fountain Town was suggested, but they found that there was also another Fountain Town in the State. At last it was decided to call this town Fountain City, and all residents who had received letters at that office should be legal voters in making this change. This was one time when women and boys were regarded as legal voters.

*In 1871 the railroad was built on the old grade which was surveyed and thrown up in 1853.

Not only the name of the town but that of the postoffice and express office were changed to Fountain City. This change was made and the town incorporated in 1879. The "History of Wayne County," published in 1884, differs somewhat from the above statement and says that "It [the town] was first known as New Garden, became New Port in 1834 and Fountain City in 1878;" but the evidence is against the latter statement. No doubt the sulphur fountains* found in the various parts of the town suggested the name of Fountain City.

It was only to avoid a great amount of trouble that the citizens of Newport consented to the changing of its name. To this day many of the older men and women, who knew the town so well, in speaking of Fountain City call it Newport. It is not an uncommon thing to hear them say they wish it had been possible to have the old name retained; that there is so much more meaning in the name Newport than Fountain City.

Shortly after the platting of Newport Edward Kent laid off a town on the farm now owned by John Townsend and then by Israel Hough. New Liberty, as it was called, was from one-half to three-quarters of a mile southwest of what is now Fountain City. Here John Hough worked at clock making and Kent started a tannery. Newport's rival was very short lived, although it too had the advantages of being located near the same creek. This creek was the principal feature in making Newport the industrial center that it was during anti-slavery times. Quite an interesting chapter could be written on Newport as an industrial center, but that is not our purpose, so we will merely make mention of the different industries. There was a saw mill, grist mill, linseed oil mill, a carding factory, a hat shop, a tanyard, some potteries, and other industries. The saw mill was owned by Billy Hough, as he was called; it was located just across the creek east, on his farm, now the Elwood Boren home. Here they used the vertical saw which did not necessitate the hustling, as the same kind of work does to-day. All that remains is the grass covered banks of the race. The grist mill stood about half way between where the Friends' church and the bridge now stands. People came from all around, even from Portland, to get their milling done here. Daniel

*The following story of a traveling man is from a reliable source: It was before the railroad was built and traveling was done in covered wagons. The traveler had reached the tavern late in the evening; after supper they fell to talking about the town and then the fountains. Somehow, the poor stranger conceived the idea that it was hollow underneath and probably the town would sink before morning. Immediately he had his horses and wagon brought and started on for a safer resting place.

Puckett had a grist mill in 1824. It was used principally for grinding corn. When wheat was ground it had to be sifted by hand before it was ready for use.

Levi Coffin began the manufacturing of linseed oil in 1830. He also made different colored paints, which many bought to paint their wagons. They would use two or three different colors on one vehicle. The Friends became very much concerned and appointed a committee to labor with him and persuade him to leave off such sinful work.

A steam grist mill and woolen factory was started east of the town, about 1836, by Eli Osborn and Isaac and Jesse Reynolds. Also, Nathan Smith had a carding mill in town which was among the first industries. It was run by horse power.

Robert Green and George Hurt had a hat shop at the northwest corner of Cross Main. They made the hats from beaver, which they got from Cincinnati, Ohio. This came in large sheets, the natural color being white, but they were able to color the beaver black when they were in need of that kind. The old men wore the plain white hats. They never had to trouble themselves about the "latest style," for the style was always the same—that of round crowns and broad rims. The crowns had to be made on a block. The cost was at least ten dollars a hat. When buying a hat for a boy they would get it large enough to last until he was grown. Each man and boy had what they called a Sunday hat and an everyday hat. Samuel Keller, John Hunt, and Thomas Clayton also worked at this trade.

There was a tanyard along the creek, a little to the southeast of where the Friends' meeting house now stands. Vats were placed in the ground, four or five feet deep. Here the hides were soaked in water poured over tan bark. This served the purpose of loosening the hair and toughening the hides. When the hair became loose the hides were taken out and stretched in the sun to dry.

One of the potteries was owned and run by Robert Bailey, one square south and one square east from Cross Main, in the southeast corner of the square. Mr. Bailey hauled his wares to all the small towns around. Sometimes he would take a load to Cincinnati and bring back a load of fugitive slaves. Abner Dalbey also had a potter shop, one square south and one square west from Cross Main, in the northwest part of the next square, south.

Robert Randle, of Richmond, has written the following article telling how crockery was made during anti-slavery times by his

grandfather, Robert Bailey, of Newport. Mr. Randle, when a small boy, lived with his grandfather and helped him with his work:

"The old process of making crocks, as it was called, is extremely interesting. The clay bank being selected, the clay was brought to the shop and ground in a mill, operated by horse power. The clay was then made into cubes and pressed through screens to free it of stones and roots. Water was then mixed with it to bring it to the proper workable consistency. The clay was then weighed out into parts of the proper amount to the vessel desired, after which it was formed into round flat loaves, then placed on the wheel.

"This wheel, on which the crocks were turned, was made up of a stationary table, with a shaft pivoted in the floor, and extending up through the table a crank was attached to the lower part of the shaft, and connected to a pedal, by which the operator could stand on one foot, lean back against a cushioned seat, and with the other foot he was able to operate the pedal and thus revolve the shaft at a high rate of speed, there being a fly wheel connected to the shaft near the floor. A flat wooden head was attached to the upper end of the shaft, revolvable just above the surface of the table. The operator then took one of the carefully prepared loaves of clay, lifted it above his head, and then spat it down solidly on the center of the revolving head. After wetting his hand in a vessel of water near by he grasps the revolving loaf, which slides around and round in his hands. Now, by grasping the loaf with his thumbs in the center and fingers on the periphery, he is able to control the formation of the clay as he likes, drawing it up into a vertical or flaring wall or turning the top inward to form a jug. A tool similar to a scraper could be used for smoothing the straight parts of the interior or exterior. After the vessel is formed it is separated from the head by a fine wire drawn between the vessel and head, after which it is set on a board to dry. After being dried the vessel was dipped in a glazing composition which, by the application of great heat, forms a hard enamel. After being glazed the crocks are again dried and then, when a large quantity was prepared, they were put in a large kiln. When it was full it was sealed up and fire applied, the heat being increased daily for three or four days; by this time all the crocks were heated to a white heat. The kiln was then allowed to cool very gradually; then, after a week or ten days it was ready to be opened and the crocks found to be burned quite hard. By reason of the glazing they will be glassy or enamaled and impervious to moisture."

Hiram Huff owned a tinshop, which stood where Clement's drygoods store now stands. This was in the '50s. The pork packing industry was carried on by Levi Coffin, on the southeast corner of Cross Main, where Thomas & Clements have their store. Wagonload after wagonload of dressed pork was hauled from here to Cincinnati, and on return the haulers would bring either groceries, drygoods, or slaves, and often some of each.

"Doc." Reynolds and William Randle had a pump shop near where Abner Dalbey's pottery stood.

Old Billy Bush, a runaway slave, had a blacksmith shop one square and a half north of the center of the town, on the west side. Robert Burrill, another colored man, had his barber shop three or four doors south of the southwest corner of Cross Main; he did hair cutting while his wife managed a bake shop. A cabinet shop was located a little south of the Friends' church. Here Harvey Davis made caskets for all that part of the country. A casket was not made until it was needed, and then it was made of plain white boards, not even stained or painted. If an order came for one to be ready on Monday, the work had to be done on the Sabbath. Harvey Davis learned the trade of Solomon Thomas. The foundry establishment was east of town, and was run by Job Reynolds and Hiram and Israel Hough. The principal feature was the making of stoves and castings.

Levi Coffin began the mercantile business in 1826, at the northwest corner of Cross Main. Those following later were Eliezier Hiatt, Caleb Cowgill, Samuel Pritchard, Robert Green, and Joel Parker.

Dr. O. N. Huff's home was the early tavern, then owned by Samuel Nickson.

A brewery was started very early by Edward Mason.

Newport did not develop along the line of industry alone, but with the seed of industry was sown that of education. The first school was a private school and next was the first township or public school. A log building was put up, in 1820-21, on the southeast corner of the lot now owned by Lindin Osborn. The teacher's pay was determined by the number of pupils he had. The requirement on the part of the teacher was to familiarize himself with the "Three R's." He who could cipher through the "Double Rule of Three" was considered a brilliant student. The first teacher was Henry Way, who later became a leading physician. He was a man ahead of his times. He made an attempt to introduce Physiology into his school by means of an Indian skeleton,

which he found and prepared. The Friends were horrified at the thought of having the bones of a human being in the school room, and a committee was appointed to wait upon him to persuade him to leave off this unpardonable sin. The first township or public school building also was log and stood just south of where the Methodist Episcopal church now stands. The name of this teacher is unknown. It seems that the public schools were very irregular on account of the difficulty of getting funds to pay the teachers. Later, a second township school was started and about 1840 a third. One subscription school is also mentioned, and in 1845 the town and township joined forces and started a school. The second township school building was a small one, which stood just east of where the butcher shop now stands. Griffin Davis was the first teacher there. The third building was placed on Water street, just southwest of where the Friends' church now stands. Here Levi Jessup taught several years. George Bowls also taught here about 1846.

Lizzie Hooker taught the subscription school in the building now used as a woodshed by Lindin Osborn. The joint town and township school was held in a small frame building, located where the high school building now stands, and the first teacher was Stephen Venard. Mr. Venard made an overland trip to California, in 1850, and gained for himself national fame by killing the famous gang of stage robbers in California. About 1853 the first township library was established. This building was located where the bank now stands. This township library was part of the State Library System. For further information on this subject see the "Reports of the Public Library Commission."

The industrial and educational features were quite marked, but Newport will be remembered longer as a religious center. The strongest element that settled in and around the town was that freedom loving class—*i. e.*, freedom from war and slavery—that came from the Carolinas and Virginia. They were a positive, determined class, who in the main defended and maintained the right. They were intensely temperate and no saloon for the sale of liquor ever found an abiding place among them. Their feelings against slavery were very strong, "hence, with unfaltering zeal and earnestness, they denounced it and refused to give, by word or act, the accursed institution directly or indirectly any aid or comfort."[1]

This kind of an element did not fit in with the slavery-loving

1. Vol. II. History of Wayne County, Indiana, 1884.

element of the Carolinas and Virginia. Going back some generations, this Quaker element came largely from New Jersey and Pennsylvania to North Carolina, and thence here. Early in the history of the Nation (1750-1760) the Friends were agitating the question of war, their early impressions being influenced by George Fox's teaching. They often had to suffer for this, either by fines or imprisonment,[1] and during the Revolution their peace policy caused them to be regarded by many as hostile to American Independence, which was a drawback to America but a help to England.

As to slavery, the Friends first engaged in the importation of slaves, but early in their history a few became opposed to the practice. Many early slave holders were honest in believing that it was a Christian act to bring the colored people from their regions (Africa) of ignorance and superstition to those (America) of intelligence. The Friends had the feeling that they could better care for the slaves, and that their buying them would bring them under better influence. For further light on this subject see a paper written by Professor Hodgin, of Earlham College, entitled, "The Moral Influence of Friends on American Slavery."

One of the few who probably did more than any other man was John Woolman.[2] It is said of him that after drawing up a bill of sale of a colored man his conscience smote him and ever after he refused to engage in the slave trade. He then took up a persistent struggle against it, but in a wise, tactful, loving sort of way. His argument was that all nations are of one blood, quoting Gen. 3: 20. His opponents admitted this, but contended that they (the white people) were in a "higher station and enjoyed greater favors than they" (the colored ones). Then he said that the Father intended that these favors should be used to uplift humanity. He told them to put themselves in the place of the colored people. He admitted that some fell into good hands, but these were few compared with the many who were ill treated. He said they did not come here of their own accord, but were brought here and that we were responsible for them. It is our duty to do by them as we would be done by. "Sincerity of heart and upright walking before God and freely submitting to his Providence is the most sure remedy."[3] This spirit of agitation was deeply rooted by the time

1. For a full account of their struggles and suffering see Week's "Southern Quakers and Slavery," Chap. 8, pp. 1 and 2.

2. See Chap. 2 of his "Journal," for his life.

3. For fuller account see his "Journal," pp. 182-221.

of his death, 1772. The Society of Friends became united in forbidding the practice of holding slaves by the members. A query required to be answered at that time (between 1750-1800) was: "Are Friends clear of purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves?" (See "The Furnas Family in America," written by Eli Jay, 1901.)

As this Quaker element against slavery in Carolina and Virginia became stronger and stronger, so the element favoring it became stronger and stronger, and gradually came to look upon the Quakers with suspicion, also refused them a part in the governmental affairs, and later inflicted punishments upon them. This state of affairs was not to be and could not be continued.

How fortunate for them that there was a way to escape. In 1787 the Northwest Territory was to be opened up and invited settlement. This proved the place of refuge for the persecuted Friends in the South. They began leaving, a few at a time, and settled in what are now the States of the Northwest Territory, particularly Ohio and Indiana. We are just now concerned only with those settling in and around Newport. We have an account of some coming as early as 1811. Jonathan Hough (grandfather of Angie Hough White, deceased) married a Virginia woman, came from North Carolina to what is now the Marquis Thomas home, in that year. They camped at the roadside until they could get their log cabin built. The Indians were still near. For further account see Angie White's Paper which was read before the Wayne County Historical Society, entitled "My Two Grandfathers."

The following are names of members who brought their right of membership from some Monthly Meeting in North Carolina to New Garden Monthly Meeting, located about a mile south of Newport, or Fountain City: From Alexandria Monthly Meeting, to New Garden, 1833-39, Myers, Janney, and Davis; from Core Sound Monthly Meeting, 1832, Davis, Harris, Hubbard, Perisho, Wilson, Macy, and Fodra; from Contentnea Monthly Meeting, 1822-32, Arnold, Fulghum, Horn, Woodard, Barker, Bogue, Hall, and Harris; from New Garden, N. C., 1820-55, Jessup, Baldwin, Evans, White, Coffin, Unthank, Clayton, and Wilson; from Dover Monthly Meeting, 1831-38, Meredith, Evans, Gurley, and Horney; from Westfield Monthly Meeting, 1819-20, Puckett and Jackson. Some came in 1806, and others in 1816 to 1819. "After the agitation and settling of the Missouri Compromise, thousands left the State (North Carolina), a very large per cent being Quakers.

Again, as a result of the South Carolina Nullification frolic, other thousands left; then, when the legislature disfranchised the free colored men (by revision of the State Constitution in 1835) and forbade masters from educating their slaves (law of 1830-31) the tide of emigration increased and flowed without ceasing till the Rebellion."

New Garden, Ind., indulged meeting (given permission to hold meetings) in 1811; preparative meeting in 1814, and Monthly Meeting in 1815. The following meetings are the Monthly Meetings making up the Newport Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting: Newport, Springfield, Cherrygrove, Dunkirk, Duck Creek, Westfield, Salem, Elk, Deer Creek, Prairie.

Most of the immigrants came from North Carolina and the largest number came between the year 1815 and 1860. However, they continued to come until after the war. With the above facts in mind it is not difficult to understand why Newport became such a prominent place during the anti-slavery times.

Some Friends believed in the immediate and unconditional emancipation, while others believed in a gradual emancipation or colonization. However, they were agreed on one thing, and that was, that the negro should be freed.

It is interesting to observe the different ways different individuals went about to accomplish their purpose. Some went about organizing societies; others worked through the press, while a third class presented their ideas from the platform. There was in the East an organization known as the Anti-Slavery Society. Friends at Newport felt the need of something of this kind. In 1838 they held a conference and decided to organize an Anti-Slavery Library Society. All the books, tracts, and other publications on the subject were to be collected and distributed among the people. At that time there was a depository of anti-slavery publications at Cincinnati and $25 were subscribed with which to purchase some of these publications. Levi Coffin was appointed to get the needed copies. Afterwards, he bought others with his own money and kept up the supply. These were not sold, but were given away and loaned until worn out. They often held library meetings, as they called them, for in those days they did not dare to call themselves "Abolitionists" or speak of "abolition societies." It was about this time (1838) that a number of Friends who were in favor of immediate and unconditional emancipation joined with others in the formation of the State Anti-Slavery Society of Indiana, which was organized at Milton, Wayne county. See "Reminiscences of Levi Coffin," p. 226.

"It tried a man's soul to be an Abolitionist in those days, when brickbats, stones and rotten eggs were some of the arguments we had to meet."[1] It was during such times that Arnold Buffum made his first visit to Newport. His lectures set the people thinking and reflecting more on this subject of "slavery" than they had ever done before. Buffum was followed by Lewis Hicklin, of Madison, Ind., a Methodist minister, who also lectured on the same subject, but went a step farther and organized several anti-slavery societies. Later, a State anti-slavery convention was held here and resulted in stirring things up generally. Charles Burley and Frederick Douglass were the speakers from the East, while the politicians and other pro-slavery men were the opposing force. This gave the mob spirit a better working basis. Newport was known by the pro-slavery element as the "hot bed of abolition." The anti-slavery sentiment steadily grew throughout the Nation, but the pro-slavery element or rather party still held the reins of government.

Dr. O. N. Huff says, "There was a sewing society organized, where the good women met to prepare clothing for the fleeing fugitives."[2]

There was an organization of young men, "who obligated themselves for certain duties in aid of the colored people. They sometimes would hire speakers. Another duty, which must have required much fortitude, was to take regular turns and ride to the "settlement" beyond Spartanburg to teach in the Sabbath school. Among their number were Zeri and Moses Hough, Daniel and Jesse Hill, Thomas and Isaac Woodard, Ira Marine, Calvin Thomas, Daniel Thomas, and others."[2]

Another means of getting the people to see the evils of slavery was, as stated before, through the press. In 1841 a press was established, issuing a weekly paper known as the "Protectionist." This was the organ of the Liberty party and the advocate of peaceable abolition of slavery, which was the doctrine of the party. This paper favored high tariff. In 1843 the "Free Labor Advocate,"[3] was established, with Benjamin Stanton as the editor. This paper advocated free labor and was published for years, until the tide of public sentiment changed and the editor died.

From Volume 1, No. 1, of a bound copy of the "Protectionist," bearing the name of Billy Willcuts, and now the property of the Wayne County Historical Society, it is learned that the nature of

1. See p. 227 of "Reminiscences of Levi Coffin."

that paper was first "to awaken * * * the slave holding States to a sense of their danger, and of the necessity for a remedy; to exhibit the progressive infringements of the slave power upon our rights, our liberties, and our prosperity; to demonstrate that slavery and liberty, being diametrically opposed to each other, can never harmonize or long co-exist under the same government; and finally, to show the abomination of the sin of slavery, and that in all its features it is opposite to that of righteousness which exalteth a Nation. Second, to give brief sketches of the most interesting foreign and domestic intelligence, together with extracts and essays on subjects of a moral and religious nature. In short, it is intended to make the 'Protectionist' a welcome visitor to every family where human liberty is regarded as the unalienable right of man; and that its columns shall be exclusively occupied with such matter as is useful to those who are desirous of walking in the ways of wisdom and truth.

"The character of the paper will be essentially different from that of any now published; its first object being the vindication of the rights of the people of the non-slaveholding States to PROTECTION against the possibility under any circumstances of being claimed by mortal men as an article of property—PROTECTION against every encroachment of that spirit of despotism which naturally springs up and is fostered to giant growth in a slaveholding community. * * *

"This Journal will vindicate the cause of the people, whose rights have been basely surrendered by political demagogues to the domination of the aristocracy of the South. It will plead the rights of the people, North and South, East and West, to be equally protected in all their natural rights, by wholesome, just and efficient laws. * * *

"Such being our principles, we anticipate a very extensive circulation for our humble sheet in every State of the Union.

"In the next number (No. 2) we intend publishing our political creed, which we trust will commend itself to the common sense of every intelligent mind."

Under the heading, "Convention at Economy," the announcement is made that "The first District Convention of Indiana Abolitionists held its adjourned meeting in the Friends Meeting House, near Economy, on the 9th and 10th days of the 11th month, 1840."

2. These two quotations are taken from a paper written for the Wayne County Historical Society, 1905, entitled the "Unnamed Anti-Slavery Heroes of Old Newport," by Dr. O. N. Huff, of Fountain City.

3. Elizabeth Nicholson, 1217 Broadway, Indianapolis, has a bound volume of copies of this paper.

Under the head of "Political," the announcement was made that "William H Harrison is to be our next President."

The following announcements were also published in the first issue of this paper:

"The Anniversary meeting of the State Society will be held at New Garden (one mile south of Newport), Wayne county, on 2nd day of the eigthh and second month (February), 1841, at 10 o'clock A. M."

"A general convention of Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting, who are favorable to the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies, to be conducted in all respects in accordance with the peculiar principles and testimonies of Friends, will be held at New Garden, Wayne county, on 2nd day after the second 7th day in the 1st month, 1841."

Under the heading, "Books," it is stated that "An assortment of the most interesting Anti-Slavery publications have just been received from New York—for sale at the New York prices, at the office of the 'Protectionist,' over Levi Coffin's store, by Arnold Buffum."

An "Apology for the press not being set up as yet and for the cheap paper," was made.

"The Slave," a poem, and "I Hear the Bondman's Sigh," another poem, were published.

It was stated that "All communications to be addressed to Joel Parker, publishing agent, New Garden, Wayne County, Ind."

In No. 4 of the "Protectionist," under the heading of "Jubilee," is found this statement: "The Newport Anti-Slavery Tract Society issued the first number of a periodical by the above title. It is published monthly at twenty-five cents per annum and will contain a selection of the choicest articles from all the anti-slavery publications in the world. Anti-slavery societies and individuals engaged in the cause can be supplied with any quantity, either by the year or in single numbers, at two dollars a hundred, always in advance."

In the seventh number of this paper is found the following:

"One Hundred Dollars Reward for Walker, * * * signed Henry T. Drewry;" also, under the heading, "Public Sale of Slaves," is the following:

"In pursuance of the provisions of a deed of trust, executed by James M. Garnet to subscribers, on the 20th of February, 1839, and duly recorded in the clerk's office of Essex county, to secure a debt due to Robert P. Waring, we shall proceed to offer at public sale, at Loretto, in the County of Essex, on Thursday, the 17th day

of December next, if fair, or on the day thereafter, for cash, the following slaves to-wit: Henry, Harry, Sally, Hannah, Eliza, Jack, Billy, Ben, in which the said James M. Garnet holds an estate for his life only; together with the increase of the females, or so many of the said slaves as shall be necessary for the purpose of said deed of trust." Signed by Robert W. Latane and Robert M. T. Hunter, trustees.

Upon this notice appears the following editorial comment:

"Holds an estate for his life only; together with the increase of the females! What a thought! Here is offered for sale a title to the unborn children of the wretched victims of slavery. The woman is not only offered for sale, but the vender offers to give a title to her unborn, yea, unconceived offspring. This looks like claiming and selling God's rational creatures before his hand had made them."

In issue No. 7 of the "Protectionist" is found the following, under the head of "Constitution," which was printed in large, bold, black letters:

"Art. 1st.—This Society shall be called the Newport Female Anti-Slavery Society.

"Art. 2nd.—The object of this Association is to promote the diffusion of correct information among our fellow citizens in relation to slavery, showing its repugnance to the principles of justice and religion, and to the happiness and prosperity of the American people.

"Art. 3d.—The design of communicating such information is that the free citizens of the Republic may be influenced by the power of truth, brought to bear upon the understanding and conscience, to abolish that iniquitous institution which they are now leagued together in upholding.

"Art. 4th.—The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Corresponding and Recording Secretary and Treasurer, who, with twelve other persons, shall constitute a Board of Managers.

"Art. 5th.—It shall be the duty of the Board of Managers to meet on the 3d Second day in each month. They shall devise and execute such plans as to them shall seem best adapted to promote the object of the Society, and make an annual report of their doings.

"Art. 6th.—There shall be a meeting of the Society on the first Second day, in the Second month, annually, for the election of officers; hearing the report of the Managers; and for transacting such other business as may come before it.

"Art. 7th.—Each member of the Society shall lay by and for

ward to the treasurer at each quarterly meeting the sum of at least one cent for each week, for the benefit of the cause

"Art. 8th.—The treasurer shall receive all donations, gifts, and legacies and hold the same, subject to the order of the Board of Managers, and shall render an account of receipts and disbursements at each annual meeting.

"Art. 9th.—The Board of Managers shall in no case involve the Society in debt.

"Art. 10th.—This Constitution shall be amended at any meeting of the Society by receiving a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

Art. 11th.—Any Female approving of our object may become a member of this Society by signing the constitution and complying with its requisitions."

The following names are found in the paper entitled, "Underground Railroad," written by Maj. M. M. Lacey, as members of the Women's Anti-Slavery Society, which probably is the same as the Female Anti-Slavery Society: Beulah Puckett, Elizabeth Stanton, Rachel Green, Mary Hockett, Edith Osborn, Elizabeth Lacy, Ann Reynolds, Kezeah Hough, Jane Porch, Achsah Thomas, Mary Parker, Mrs. Henry Way, and Cathrine Coffin. These good women nearly all had daughters who assisted in the work. In the same paper is found where this society had joined a like one at Salem, Ind., in giving a fair. The fair lasted two days; the forenoons were given over to speeches on anti-slavery subjects and the afternoons and evenings to the sale of goods. A handsome sum was realized and the Newport women returned home much encouraged. The society also spun and wove a great deal. "The members would be hurriedly notified to meet at some one of their homes and garments would be cut out and made for one or maybe half a dozen fugitives who had been hauled into the neighborhood and must be spirited on as soon as the friendly shades of night would permit. These things had to be done in a quiet way, as there were those who did not view these things with a very friendly eye."

In issue No. 9 is found the following:

"An independent press has been established at New Garden, in this county, from which are issued the 'Protectionist,' the 'Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle,' and the 'Jubilee'."

In No. 10 is the following:

"Notice.—The New Garden Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society will be held on 2nd day, 24th, instant, at 10 o'clock a. m., in Friends' School House at Concord, Wayne county, Ind. A general attendance of both male and female is requested. Daniel Hill, Sec."

In issue No. 13 is found the following Liberty ticket for Wayne county: For Senators—Silas H. Bunson, of Franklin, and Pusey Graves, of Richmond. For Representatives—Josiah Bell, Newport; Samuel Johnson, Williamsburg; Daniel Winder, Centerville.

In No. 14 appears the following notice:

"Steam Mill For Sale.—Notice is hereby given that on the 7th day (Saturday), the 7th of next month, the undersigned will expose to public sale the undivided half of the Steam Mill at Newport, Wayne Co., Ind., consisting of two runs of stone, two double-carding machines and double-fulling mill. All in good repair and in full operation; also one or two adjoining lots, with good dwelling houses on them; also some other property. A liberal credit will be given." Signed David Willcutts, trustee.

No. 17 is found quite an article concerning the condition of affairs as regards slavery in the Methodist church. Here they succeeded in getting the pro-slavery element at the head of affairs, *i. e.*, the bishops, elders, and ministers were from this class. It is probable that the Methodist church at Newport also divided on the question of slavery. The Wesleyan church was also agitating this great question. In the same number, under the heading, "Indiana State Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society," is found this: "There will be a meeting of the above named society held in the town of Newport, Wayne Co., on Wednesday, the 29th of September next. Services to commence at 11 o'clock a. m. for the purpose of appointing a delegation to attend the great Western Convention, to be holden at Cincinnati on the third Wednesday in October next, and to transact such other business as may come before the society. A general attendance is requested." Dated August the 18th, 1841, and signed, John A. Morman, Recording Secretary.

This was a day of public speakers as well as writers. Men were feeling deeply and a few of them were able to present their thoughts in a very forceful way to others.

Some of the public speakers came from a distance and others were home men. Probably the first was Arnold Buffum, who was the first president of the Anti-Slavery Organization Society. His home was in the East, but he had started West on a lecturing tour and, finding Newport very fertile soil, tarried awhile to sow his seed of abolition. He lectured a great deal through this part of the country. This course of lectures on slavery stirred all the political parties to a white heat. Buffum was followed by Louis Hicklin, also mentioned above, who also lectured and then formed anti-

slavery societies over the same territory in which Arnold Buffum had lectured.

Doctor Bennett, a citizen of Newport, sustained Buffum in his work. Not only did Mr. Bennett lecture at home but "gave up his profession to accept the position of lecturer for the first anti-slavery society formed in the State, at a salary of $500 a year. He was an excellent speaker, traveled over a large territory, and like all speakers against slavery, suffered much persecution and opposition."[1]

Daniel Worth,[2] a prominent Wesleyan minister, was a very active member of the Anti-Slavery Society. He was at one time the president of the State Anti-Slavery Society, several conventions of which were held at Newport.

In 1843 C. C. Busley lectured through this part of the country, and in 1844 Henry Clay lectured at Richmond (eight miles south of Newport), giving his famous Mendenhall speech, which caused much excitement at Newport. The famous Fred Douglass[3] lectured at Newport in 1844. He, too, stirred things to a white heat. Mrs. Price, Dr. Bennett's daughter, says that once, when there was an Abolition convention held where the city building now stands at Richmond, Ind., Dr. and Mrs. Bennett, with Fred Douglass, started down the street to this convention, but the Doctor forgot some of his papers and had to go back for them while Mrs. Bennett walked on with Mr. Douglass. Mrs. Bennett was afterwards greatly scandalized for this act. Fred Douglass spoke at Fountain City twenty or twenty-five years ago. Although he had not seen Mrs. Price since she was a little girl he recognized her at this time.

In the book entitled "Reminiscences of Levi Coffin," is found the account of Sam, the Eloquent. This is the way the story goes: Sam was making for freedom and was captured, but made a second attempt. This time he reached Newport. He was staying with Levi Coffin. While there the time for the monthly prayer meeting, held at the Wesleyan Chapel, came round. It was with a great

1. From Dr. Huff's paper. He was the father of Mrs. Ed. Price and Mrs. Loven, of Fountain City.

2. For a full account of his life see a paper written for the Wayne County Historical Society by Sol. Woody, a former citizen of Fountain City, now deceased.

3. For a full account of his life, see his book "My Bondage and My Freedom."

deal of difficulty that Levi persuaded Sam to go with him to meeting, because he had at a previous time been captured by being enticed into jail. Finally he consented, and during the meeting he was prevailed upon to relate the account of his life, which was very interesting to the people.

Later it was decided to have him repeat this story at a public meeting so others might hear him. When the friends came to get his consent, again he thought they were enticing him into a trap, but again he was convinced of their sincerity. This time the house was crowded and again he held the audience spellbound. The people were much amazed at his eloquent language, but they understood when they learned that his master was very lenient with him and often, when Sam was at Lexington, he went to hear the public speakers.

The feeling that it was wrong to use anything that had come in contact with slave labor was continually growing stronger. One of the strongest forces to bring such feelings to a focus was Levi Coffin. He says: "About the year 1844 I became so strongly impressed with the horrors of slavery and its results, which were before me, that I was lead to reflect more deeply on the subject than I had done before and to view it in all its practical bearings. I read the testimony of John Woolman and other writers and became convinced that it was wrong to use the product of slave labor." He felt that to condemn the slaveholder and then to use the fruits of his slave's labor was inconsistent. "The Free States furnished a good market for the products of the South and made slave labor valuable to the master." Levi Coffin finally decided to buy and sell, as far as possible, nothing but free labor goods. This meant that prices would be somewhat higher, that the variety of goods would be diminished, and that many of his customers would prefer the slave labor goods; but he was willing to sacrifice all this for what he felt was the right. Such goods, he learned, were being manufactured by associations in Philadelphia and New York. He decided to go to these two cities to find out how this work was carried on and to see whether or not the goods purchased were really the products of free labor.

Of this visit Levi Coffin says: "When I arrived at Philadelphia and made inquiries I found that the business was conducted by such men as Enoch Lewis, Abraham L. Pennock, Samuel Rhodes, George W. Taylor, James Mott, James Miller McKim, Charles Wise, and others. These were all prominent Abolitionists and

well known as conscientious men of high reputation; many of them were leading members of the religious Society of Friends. The cotton they were using came from Friends' settlements in North Carolina. Nathan Thomas (a brother of Eli and Axie Thomas), a Newport Friend, traveled in the South collecting cotton that was grown by free labor, and sent it to Philadelphia, to George W. Taylor, to have it manufactured." Levi says that after he was satisfied that there was no deception connected with this work he purchased as good an sssortment of cotton goods as he could obtain. He then went to New York and found the business there conducted by such men as Robert Lindley Murray, Lindley M. Hoag, and other equally religious and conscientious men. Their line was free labor groceries. He purchased some of these and shipped them to Newport.

There were many away from here who were glad to get free labor goods. Caroline Edgarton says that when a little girl she used to go all the way from Economy to Newport to buy a spool of free labor thread. She was not the only one who came here to buy the same kind of goods, but for miles around others came for the same purpose. This growing demand for free labor goods, and the difficulty in purchasing them, made it necessary to bring about a better state of affairs. As a result, a Union convention was held in the Friends' Meeting House at Salem, Union county, Indiana. It was largely attended by prominent men of Ohio and Indiana. "From Cincinnati came Dr. Brisbane, John Joliff, Edward Harwood, Thomas Franklin and others." The convention continued for two days and "a resolution was passed to raise a fund of $3,000 to loan for five years, without interest, to some suitable person for the purpose of enabling him to open a wholesale depository of free labor goods at Cincinnati." It was with great difficulty that they succeeded in getting Levi Coffin to take this place. In 1847 he, with his wife, moved to Cincinnati to engage in this wholesale store of free labor goods. Joel Parker, an active anti-slavery man, took charge of the store formerly run by Levi Coffin. Professor Hodgin, of the History Department of Earlham College, when a boy of thirteen clerked in this store. Customers, when looking at goods they wished to buy, would say: "Is thee sure this is free labor goods?" He would answer that it was. After the opening of this wholesale house in Cincinnati, Newport got her goods from there. There are many interesting stories told of how different men from Newport hauled their produce to Cincinnati and brought back a load of free labor goods, or rather a part of a load of goods with the other part filled with fugitive slaves, seeking freedom.

There were still some in the South who held that slavery was wrong and felt justified in helping the slaves to get away from their bondage. It was usually the most intelligent class of slaves that wished their freedom. The method adopted was to wait for a favorable opportunity, then at dark slip away and get as far as possible before the dawn. They had to be very cautious in choosing a hiding place for the day. While south of the Ohio river, thickets, cornfields, ravines, and such served as the best hiding places; but usually when north of the Ohio they were able to find either colored or white families who were friendly toward them, and who were able to direct them on to some other friendly family.

Siebert's "History of the Underground Railroad" contains a map with red lines indicating the routes traveled by the fugitive slaves. There is simply a net work of these lines, but the only ones that concern us at present are those leading into and out of Newport. Three lines converged at Levi Coffin's house. There was one from Cincinnati, one from Madison, Ind., and one from Jeffersonville, Ind. "The roads were always in running order, the connections were always good, the conductors active and zealous, and there was no lack of passengers;" and almost every week brought some of them. A light tap at the door almost any time of night "was the signal announcing the arrival of a train of the Underground Railroad, for the locomotive did not whistle nor make any unnecessary noise." A train was made up of one or more of the covered wagons used in those days in traveling. Since there was a continuous stream of immigration from the South to the North, transportation in this way was very safe and easy. The number varied from two or three to seventeen. Aunt Katie, as they called Levi Coffin's wife, always got up and prepared food and beds for them, no matter what time of night it was. The Coffins continued this work all the time they lived at Newport, which was about twenty years. The annual average was more than 100. Generally the fugitive slaves were destitute of clothing and often barefooted. Clothing had to be collected and money raised to buy shoes and to purchase goods to make clothing for the women and children. The length of time that the fugitive slaves remained at Newport depended upon the danger in which they were. If hotly pursued they were hurried on, and if not some remained two or three months. The method of hiding through the day and traveling at night was in use long before it was given a name.

The name "Underground Railroad" is very misleading. Many seem to have the idea that there were secret passages under the

ground, but this was not the case. John Wright Johnson, a nephew of Levi Coffin, gives the following circumstance as the origin of the name, "Underground Railroad": Seventeen slaves, valued at $1,000 each, escaped from the South and had gotten as far north as William Beard's, in Union county, Indiana. William brought them on to Levi Coffin's. Knowing that they were valuable slaves and that their masters would soon be on the track of them, Levi sent them as promptly as possible to Canada, via Adrian and Detroit, Mich. There were fifteen on the hunt of them. When the hunters reached Richmond, Ind., they divided into three parties, putting five in each one. One party was to take the route east of Newport, *i. e.*, the Ripley-Sandusky line; a second leading through Newport, and a third going through Economy, Cabin Creek, Muncie and on north. John Wright Johnson said they were to meet at Detroit, but in his book Levi Coffin says Winchester. However, when they returned to Richmond and were comparing notes, so to speak, the party passing through Newport were the only ones who had gotten any clue of the runaways. While in Newport they pretended to be hunting fine horses and cattle. One day one of them asked a little boy, whom they had met on the street, if he had seen anything of some runaway slaves? He answered that there had been seventeen at Levi Coffin's, but that was all they were able to find out about them. After relating their experience, one of the Newport party said he did not see what had become of them, but he believed they had been sent on by an underground railroad, and that Levi Coffin must be president of the road. This expression was overheard by a bystander and then published in the papers. Ever afterwards, Levi Coffin was known as the president of the Underground Railroad. It is said of him that while at Newport and Cincinnati, over 3,000 fugitive slaves were under his protection, and none were ever captured while under his care, although frequently the slaves and masters were in Newport at the same time.

Space will permit the insertion of only a few of the many, many interesting stories that were told of the escape and struggle of those poor fugitive slaves for freedom. All are familiar with the book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but probably all are not familiar with the fact that the good Simeon and Rachel Holliday, spoken of in Chapter XIII, were Levi and Catherine Coffin, and that Eliza and her little boy spent two weeks with them at Newport. Eliza's home, it is understood, was about twenty or thirty miles south of Ripley, Ohio. Her master was very kind to her, but had gotten

into financial difficulties and was going to sell her little son, two years old. The mother, having lost her other two children, could not bear the thought of parting with this one. She decided to risk her chance of escape. When she reached the Ohio river she found the ice was melting and went back to a house that was a short distance from the bank. Later she saw the master close on her track. She rushed to the river bank, stepped on a large block of slowly floating ice, and went from block to block, often sinking almost out of sight; but she preferred death in this way to parting with her child. After some time of desperate struggling she succeeded in reaching the northern bank with her child; both mother and child were soaked with the ice cold water and nearly frozen. She was assisted up the bank by William Lacey[1] and directed to the "white house on the hill," where she was well cared for and later sent to Newport, thence on to Canada. Eliza reached the land of freedom in safety, and some years later was visited by Levi and Aunt Katie. We must remember that the Ohio was not bridged then, as now, and that each hour the river was becoming more dangerous, which prevented the master from making further advance.

Another story is that of two colored girls who ran away from their master and succeeded in getting as far north as their grandmother's, at Cabin Creek, about twenty miles northwest of Fountain City. There were many colored people in this settlement. They had some sort of signal to give when any one was in need of help. The grandmother lived in a small cabin, having only one door. When the master and guides[2] were seen coming, the signal was given and in a short time a great crowd, mostly black, had gathered at the grandmother's cabin. The uncle of the girls was fairly well educated, and when the master presented his search warrant,[3] he (the uncle) picked every possible flaw he could imagine in it, taking up as much time doing so as he possibly could. Finally he told the master if he would give the girls a fair trial at Winchester, Ind., he might search the house. While the uncle was carrying out his part the grandmother was standing in the door with a very sharp corn cutter in her hand, threatening the life of the first stranger who crossed her threshold. In the meanwhile several colored people had been passing in and out of the

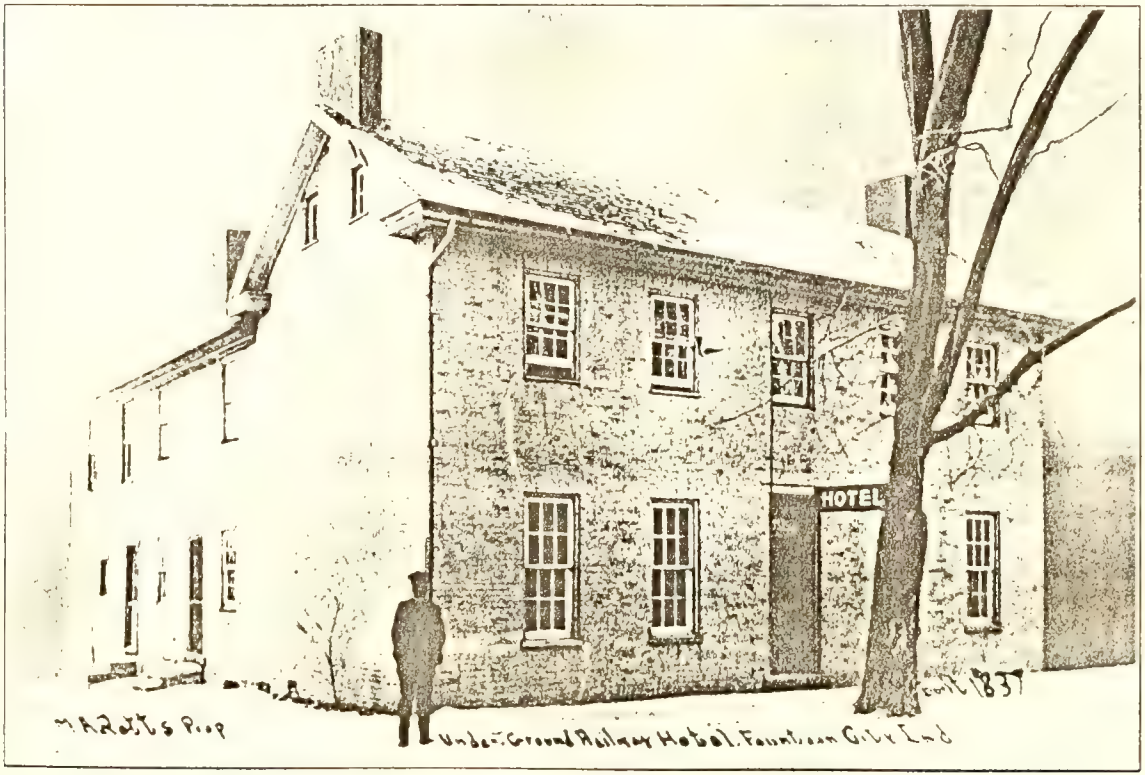
1. William Lacey was a brother of Maj. M. M. Lacey, of Fountain City.

2. The master usually hired guides who were pro-slavery men.

3. Each master must have a search warrant and be able to prove his so-called property.

cabin. Many of the outsiders expected to hear the screams and pleadings of the girls when the master entered, but none were to be heard, for there were no girls within. The master was even more bewildered than the crowd. The girls had put on boys' clothes and slouch hats, passed out of the door by their master, gone into a nearby thicket, mounted swift horses, and were taken in hot haste to Newport. It was a hard journey and the girls were very tired, for they had been closely pursued. When they reached Levi Coffin's, Aunt Katie conceived the idea of concealing them in one of her beds. They were placed between the straw and feather ticks and the bed was made up as usual. The thought of how they had evaded their master, and that of being made up in the bed, set them to giggling and Aunt Katie had to separate them. At first they were placed in the south room, upstairs.

In the summer of 1907 a visit was made with John Wright Johnson to the old Levi Coffin home, known as the grand central station of the Underground Railroad. There was but one hiding place in this house, that being in the garret, off the upstairs room, over the dining room. The front part of the house is two-stories, with gables to the north and south. There is an east wing, the north side of which is two-stories, but sloping down to one on the south side. In this wing was the basement kitchen, with a large fireplace in the east end and a milk room off to the south, where there was an everflowing fountain. Above this is the dining room, where several hundred fugitive slaves were fed at different times. There is a stairway at the west end of this room leading to the one above, which was always known as the hired girl's room. Since they usually kept two or more hired girls there were necessarily two beds in the room. This is the room with the shed roof. There was a south partition in this room at the place where the roof was about three or four feet from the floor. There is a small door in this partition, but the bed the farthest to the west stood with the head against this small door, completely hiding it from view. When it was necessary to put the slaves in hiding they often resorted to this place. The bed was pulled away and the door was opened, but the fugitives had to stoop to enter. However, they were perfectly willing to do so, and the door was then closed and the bed put to its proper place. This house stands at the southeast corner of North Main and what was then Mill street. There is another house at Fountain City, then old Newport, which at times also served as a station. This one is across the creek east, now the Elwood Boren home. This house has been changed somewhat. The



THE LEVI COFFIN HOUSE AT FOUNTAIN CITY.

west part of the two stories is new and in its place was a one-story kitchen, a large attic above with a roof shedding to the west. In the southwest corner, on the second floor of the old part, is a closet under a stairway leading to the attic above. This closet is ceiled, and in the west wall is a door which to the casual observer would escape notice. This door leads into the attic above the one-story kitchen. This was the William (or "Billy" as they called him) Hough home during anti-slavery times. Levi Coffin spoke of it as a "noted stopping place on the Underground Railroad." The following is taken from a paper written by Dr. O. N. Huff, in 1905, entitled "The Unnamed Anti-Slavery Heroes of Old Newport":

"His (William Hough's) daughter, Mary H. Goggard, late of Muncie, speaks of the time when a number of Kentuckians came with a search warrant to search her father's house. 'It was a bright, moonlight night,' she says, 'and they could be seen very plainly. The man with the search warrant read it aloud. We listened and heard father say, "Now I tell thee, thee will not find thy darkey, for he is not in my house, but thee may look all thee wants to." So then, brother Daniel went with the old man all over the house, carrying the light. When they came to the attic over the old kitchen, my brother opened the little attic door and said, "Here is where we keep our runaway darkies, but there is none there tonight." Then the old gentleman put his head in and looked all round. When they came to our bed room door he was going to come in, but brother Daniel said, "This is my mother's bed room, you cannot go in there," and the old man replied: "Maybe he is under the old lady's bed." This was the last of the search warrant and father again said to him: "Didn't I tell thee he was not there."' Mrs. Goddard says they were in search at this time of the famous Louis Talbert, the slave who escaped from the South and afterwards made a number of trips back to the South and piloted many from the land of bondage to freedom."

Later he was captured at Indianapolis, while on his way back to lead others from bondage. His old master was glad to capture him and declared he would make an example of him, for, he said "Talbert had led away $37,000 worth of slave property." However, he let him off by selling him farther south, since his mistress had pleaded so earnestly for him. "On the way down the Mississippi he leaped from the boat and made his escape in the darkness, and after many trials and hardships again came in the night to William Hough's." They never heard from him but once afterwards, and therefore came to the conclusion that he had been caught and either killed or sold.

Daniel Hough, a son of William Hough, says, in a letter written in 1874: "One time I conducted, on a very rainy day, sixteen runaway slaves to Winchester and out to William Rinehard's." Mrs. Goddard says she remembers the old slave woman who slept with the hogs to keep from freezing and later came to her father's house for aid.

Major Lacey, in a paper entitled "The Underground Railroad," says Richard Haworth and Stephen Gardner, of Union county, came to William Hough's one morning just before daybreak with twenty-one fugitive slaves. They found William's house full of the same kind of tourists and were directed to Benjamin Thomas's house, a mile east of the town, and the following night were forwarded to John and Levi Bond's near Farmland, Randolph county, which was the next station. The following are of Mr. Lacey's boyhood experience: It was one day, in 1843, when he was playing in the barn on the hay, that he became frightened. Once, when he jumped, he lit upon a mass of moving hay, under which he found a number of black faces and shining eyes. It was then that his mother took him into her confidence and related to him the awfulness of slavery, and with it gave him the injunction to keep quiet and tell no one at any time about the fugitive slaves who might chance to come, and especially to beware of strangers who might by chance be passing. This same day he was brought to the test. While playing along the road some strange men came riding by. They tarried awhile and asked him some questions, one of which was whether he had seen any "niggers" up that way. When one of the men noticed that he hestitated he pulled out a roll of bills and offered him $100 if he would tell them about the "niggers." But he remembered his mother's warning and finally they passed on. Afterward he found out that one of the negroes who had been in the hay was viewing the scene from a crack in the barn and recognized one of the men as his master. Much cooking had been going on in the house that day, and at nightfall the covered wagon was made ready and fourteen negroes were safely transported to Levi Bond's, at Cabin Creek.

Another experience was that of the coming of four men, a woman and an infant. The wife and mother, who was much whiter than the husband and father, who was only half colored, had overheard her master talking. He was going to sell her husband because he was too intelligent. She told her husband of their condition, so they, with the child and three men, made ready to escape. They were hotly pursued, but hid in the thicket about 400 rods

from the house[1] and escaped being captured. It seemed strange to the Lacey family that the little one was never heard to cry, but it seemed to understand.

George Unthank[2] tells of his father keeping a store in Newport and how the children were cautioned to keep perfectly quiet about the runaway slaves they kept. He tells of one time when a colored woman was concealed in the cellar. "The word came that the crowd was after her. Some one rapped on the window and said she must be hidden. The crowd was there immediately. She was brought up from the cellar under a feather bed and put in bed with mother. While the house was being searched mother could hear her praying to herself, 'O Lord have mercy, O Lord don't let them get me.' The crowd did not find her and she escaped to Canada. She came back and was married in Ohio. Once she came on horseback to see mother. Her name was 'Aunt Mellie.'"

It must be remembered that not all the people of Newport were Abolitionists, and when a load of slaves was brought to the town or neighborhood it was kept very quiet, except to those most interested. There were also many who believed in helping the slaves to freedom, and they would help haul, feed and clothe them, but were afraid to conceal them in their homes. Besides those already mentioned in giving special aid to the slaves were Dr. Henry Way, old "Billy Bush" (colored), Harvey Davis, Robert Green, Samuel Clark, Harmon Clark, William R. Williams, Robert Bailey, and many others.

All who were the driving force in the anti-slavery cause believed in an unconditional emancipation. There were others who believed in freeing the slaves by the colonization method. These two opinions were apparent for years and each became stronger as time went on, until finally a clash came. In 1842 the "Meeting for Sufferings,"[3] in the Indiana Yearly Meeting, held at Richmond, reported to the Yearly Meeting that Charles Osborn, Jacob Graves, William Lock and Benjamin Stanton, members of the "Meetings for Sufferings," were no longer qualified for service in that body. The Yearly Meeting then removed them from this body, which was very humiliating to those removed and to those in sympathy with them. The anti-slavery faction immediately proceeded to

1. Mr. Lacey's home was about two miles north of Newport.

2. Taken from a paper written by Prof. Walter S. Davis, of the Richmond High School, 1902, for the Wayne County Historical Society.

3. For explanation of the term "Meeting for Suffering," see Permanent Board, in the new Discipline.

hold a conference in the Yearly Meeting House at the close of that session, which was near the close of the Yearly Meeting. They were ordered to disband or leave the house. Here they quickly decided to adjourn to meet at 9 o'clock next morning at Newport. Only those who were present ever realized what a meeting that first one was at Newport. Their feelings were those of disgrace and shame and yet those of joy and peace, because they had done what they felt was their duty. They were not able now to come to any definite decision as to what action they would take, *i. e.*, whether they should separate from the Yearly Meeting or give up the work that lay so close to their hearts. They adjourned to meet early the next year for further decision. This meeting took the form of a convention and assembled Second month, 6th, 1843, with Henry H. Way appointed to serve as clerk. "After a free and full expression of sentiment on the subject of the call for Convention," a committee was appointed "to take the whole subject, in all its bearings, under solid consideration and report the result of their deliberations to a later sitting of this convention." They then adjourned to meet the next day at 10 o'clock. The following is a report of this committee:

"The committee appointed yesterday to take into consideration the subject for which this convention was called reports that, after mature and solid deliberation, we agree in judgment that it would be right for this convention not to proceed to recognize Indiana Yearly Meeting on the true principles of the Society of Friends; that a committee be appointed to afford such assistance as they may be enabled to give, in reorganizing and maintaining Quarterly, Monthly and Preparative Meetings; that a time and place be appointed to hold a Yearly Meeting, to which those subordinate meetings may report, and that this body take such other measures as may be necessary for the advancement of the cause of truth." Signed on behalf of the committee by Benjamin Stanton and Phebe Macy.

"The above report, after mature and deliberate consideration, was unanimously adopted with the exception of two individuals."

"Friends then proceeded to the transaction of business in the capacity of a Yearly Meeting. The following are the minutes of its proceedings," or rather their substance:

"We therefore, now, the 7th day of Second month, 1843, associate ourselves together as a religious society in the capacity of a Yearly Meeting, under the title of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, embracing in its limits all those meetings which

adhere to the genuine principles of the Society residing in the district described in the discipline of the Yearly Meeting, from which we now separate ourselves." Walter Edgarton was appointed clerk and Newton Stubbs assistant.

A committee was then appointed to meet with a similiar committee from the women's meeting, "to draft an instrument declaratory of the causes which have rendered it necessary for us as members of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends to adopt the course we are now pursuing in regard to our present organization." The following committees were appointed:

1st. One "to propose to a future sitting of the names of Friends to constitute a Meeting for Sufferings on the part of this Meeting."

2d. One "to propose to a future sitting the names of Friends to constitute a committee to have the care of the concerns of the people of color."

3d. Another "to appoint a suitable time and place to hold the meeting in the future."

The following quotation will give some idea as to the nature of the Declaration they drew up: "We wish it distinctly understood that we have adopted no new doctrine nor any new system of church government; that we claim to be in the strictest sense of the word a Society of Friends, with no other nominal distinctions in the title which we have adopted than that which is necessary to distinguish us from those from whom we have separated, and to express our adherence to our well known testimony against slavery."

One argument they put up was that Friends had almost done away with slavery until the invention of the cotton gin, and then they took it up again, simply for the gain they were able to receive. Friends desired that their members "abstain from mixing with others in benevolent associations," etc. Here the anti-slavery faction disagreed. They said that "ever since the issuing of the advices repudiating the colonization scheme there were some of their prominent members, Friends, open advocates of that institution, who appeared to have been fired with indignation at the expression of such sentiments, evidently entertaining a settled purpose to prostrate the anti-slavery cause and its advocates in the society, if ever a favorable opportunity should present."

"In 1811 the opposition became very emboldened, it was again repeated, and confined to anti-slavery societies altogether; and even the use of our meeting houses was refused to such societies for their accommodation in the transaction of their business."

It seems that a committee had been appointed by the Yearly Meeting to determine the propriety of using slave labor products, and when one branch of the committee reported the "impropriety and inconsistency of Friends sustaining a market for such productions, they (the Yearly Meeting) spurned it and rejected it with manifest contempt and bitterness," and prohibited the subject "being introduced again into the committee upon the allegation that it was foreign to the subject."

When Henry Clay was making his electioneering speech at Richmond, it was announced that he was going to attend one of the public sessions which was in session at that time. At this meeting he was presented with a petition which had "near 2,000 signatures appended, requesting him to give liberty to those of his fellow beings whom he had long deprived of their just and inalienable rights." He said in reply: "I own about fifty slaves; I consider them my property. We have an idea that whatever the law secures as property is property." * * * He owned that slavery was an evil but, said he, "the slaves must be prepared for freedom before they can receive that great boon; they must have moral cultivation. The Society of Friends take the right stand in relation to this subject." After this a few Friends in behalf of those who desired to "retain their place and influence," took an opportunity to inform him that the Society had no hand in the getting up of this petition; they had no unity with its presentation; it was the work of a few Abolitionists, or words to that effect. And then they told how the clerk took him in his carriage to the meeting and "took care to seat him in the most conspicuous place in the house, and then, after meeting, how they all gathered around him to shake hands." Farther on they said: "In order properly to estimate the whole of this transaction, it would be remembered that Henry Clay was only a private man." He was not an office holder, simply an office seeker, and they were under no obligation to him as a ruler.

The Declaration goes on to say how during the "Yearly Meeting in 1841 Charles C. Burleigh, an eminent philanthropist from the East, came to Richmond, Ind., on a mission to plead the cause of equal and impartial justice—to plead the cause of millions of our innocent suffering brethren and sisters in bonds, who were not permitted to plead for themselves." But he was treated with contempt and forbidden to speak, both in the meeting house and the public houses of the town, although he was a man of irreproachable character.

One argument against the anti-slavery societies was that the South universally hated them, and as a result Friends' ministers could have no influence with the slaveholders, and it was very probable that their lives would be in danger.

In speaking of the four members who were dismissed from the Meeting for Sufferings, they simply said that they were disqualified for service in that body. "The discipline authorized this meeting or body to suggest the removal of members of that body, only in consequence of their declining or greatly neglecting the attendance of said meeting; and as the members alluded to were among the most regular attendants thereof we cannot but regard these proceedings as altogether arbitrary," etc. * * * "Can we then abandon the cause and be clear of our brother's blood? We cannot."

"This question being decided, the next is, is it better for us to suffer ourselves to be separated, disowned, and scattered abroad; to be deprived of the comforts, consolations, and preserving influences of the church fellowship, or to avail ourselves of our undisputable right to form a religious society in which we can enjoy these privileges?" It was only after much deliberation that they decided to separate.

It must be remembered that this is only one side of the question. The Friends who opposed the action of the anti-slavery members were just as conscientious in their judgment as the other side had been. Many of the members of the Yearly Meeting were Southerners and were still unable to put themselves on a level with the negroes; however, they tried very hard to persuade these members to remain in the Yearly Meeting. As has been stated before, most Friends believed in freeing the slaves, but could not agree to the method used by the anti-slavery element, since they did not believe in entering into any kind of excitement, but in a quiet, deliberate sort of way. The joining of any kind of a society, such as the temperance, anti-slavery, or peace, was a step towards excitement. Another thing that lead to great excitement was the hearing of public speeches. And as a result they thought it wrong to have their churches used for such, no matter what the sentiment of the lecture was. Here again the anti-slavery element had stepped beyond their bounds, for they had been guilty of such.

Now we will try to see the other side of the question more fully. The following is taken from the "Review of the Declaration of a Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends," which is an answer to the Declaration issued by them. This is their opinion of the Abolition Society:

"The modern Abolition societies took their rise as lately as 1832 and do not agree, in practice nor throughout in principles, with the worthy individuals whom they name. It is very apparent that the seceders are anxious to identify themselves, if possible, with these worthy predecessors, by claiming them as fellow operators in the anti-slavery cause; whereas the society they have left hold and endeavor to put in practice the views of Woolman and others in regard to slavery; yet they so far differ that they proceed to separate. Would it not be more honorable in them to take their own stand; to assert their own origin in 1832 and not inconsistently claim our folks and reject us?"

In answering the statement about the cotton gin they said: "Is not the whole of this an assumption without proof? Does it not sound like matter proceeding from an excited lecturer, who is endeavoring to make capital whereon to base his discourse? The cotton gin is a labor saving machine, not calculated, one would think, to increase but to lessen the demand for human labor."

Then, in reference to Henry Clay's intention to attend a public session of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, they answered: "Who gave out such word, and where was it given out?" And then in reference to the petition they answered: "It is well known that this petition was gotten up merely for effect. It is said it was signed by men, women and children, and persons of color, and that many of Henry Clay's political enemies signed it who probably cared nothing about Abolitionism, but liked well enough to do something that would gall him." He was informed that Friends were not back of this petition. They say that it was "very proper information and such was due Henry Clay and the Society of Friends, more particularly as the petition had been presented by a person who had been taken for a Friend. But the Friends who gave Henry Clay this information did it on behalf of themselves and are persons responsible for all they said; they were not delegates." Then, as to the way they made over him they said: "What was wrong with this? A distinguished stranger visits our neighborhood on meeting day; he tells a member whom he meets that he is inclined to go to our meeting. Shall we do less than show him the way and to find a seat when he gets there? Would it not be a great and reprehensible violation of all good breeding and duty to disrespect such an intimation?" Friends said that the anti-slavery element "overstrained" it when they told how every man, woman and child made over him.

And last as to how they treated Charles C. Burleigh, the

Friends answered, "a great flourish this, when the words 'abolition lecturer' would have expressed the whole affair. Then, as to the way he was treated, they said this was 'not by Friends, however, as is insinuated.' * * * No application was made to the Trustees, in his behalf, for the use of the house to appoint meetings; hence it must be incorrect to say that the doors were closed against him, even though they know that Friends are not in the practice of opening their meeting house for the lectures of strangers. If the doors of the public houses in town were not open to him, it was because the house had been previously filled, as is frequently the case in time of Yearly Meeting."

The following is quoted from "An Exposition to Those Who Have Lately Seceded From the Religious Society of Friends," written by George Evans, First month, 1844. In speaking of the "advices," he said: "If any of its members were so regardless of the advices of the body as to be engaged in endeavoring to throw discouragements in the way of such out of the pale of our religious society as were honestly laboring on Gospel principles for the abolition of slavery, by telling them and the slaveholders that the Society of Friends, who had heretofore been distinguished for their zeal in promoting the cause of the abolition of slavery, were now throwing their weight and influence in the pro-slavery scale, and were now actively engaged in endeavoring to put down the cause of emancipation, would such be suitable to fill important stations in the Society?" In reference to their cause for seceding, he said: "Do you own that you seceded because you could not be appointed to some station that you desired? If not, why do you give it as a cause for separation?" He thought this was probably true from what, he learned, took place at a Caucus Meeting at Newport, during the Yearly Meeting of 1842. "The object of this Meeting appeared to be to endeavor to devise means to secure your standing in the Society, this showing that your desire for appointment was so great that you would even hold meetings to endeavor to secure them."

The anti-slavery people objected because no causes were given for the removal of some of their members. It seems that causes in those days were not given and that it was not the thing for them to ask for reasons, because it was not according to the discipline to bring such before the business meeting, but leave it in the hands of the Overseers, etc. Then he goes on to say how he heard Charles Osborn caution Friends to dwell among themselves as much as possible, and that he was trying to abide by this advice. Then, to

think that he—Charles Osborn—would see his way clear to join the anti-slavery society.

In advising the anti-slavery element to consider carefully the stand they had taken, Charles Osborn said: "Unless the character of that paper [the one published at Newport, name not given] is changed and made what it professes to be, an anti-slavery paper, instead of an anti-Quaker one, vain will be our attempt to give the subject an impartial examination, while you believe its version of affairs. It is true that sometimes there are anti-slavery pieces in it, but they are few and far between." In regard to Henry Clay he said: "I wish it distinctly understood that I do not blame them or any body else for shaking hands with Henry Clay or any other man, provided it be done in a friendly and becoming manner; but that to which I call your attention is the construction you put upon it." In conclusion he said: "Be assured that, notwithstanding the unmerited abuse that some of you have poured upon us, we would rejoice at your return; believing that many of you have been drawn away by being made to believe that you had no other alternative but to forsake the cause of the slave or our religious society."

On Ninth month, 4th, 1843, the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends opened at Newport. This yearly meeting took up the same line of work that the old yearly meeting was doing and both carried on their work very much the same way.

It is an interesting fact to note that the Anti-Slavery Friends[1] built to the old Friends Meeting House, but a door was left between the two parts. Jeremiah Hubbard was head of the West End Meeting and Daniel Puckett was head of the East End Meeting, which was the anti-slavery side. The west end had their entrance from the west and the east end had theirs from the south. A fence also divided the yard and the Friends on either side would not speak to those on the other side. Things went on this way for about fourteen or fifteen years, and finally, without any demonstrations or public announcement, the Anti-Slavery Friends disbanded and went back to the old Yearly Meeting. One soon learns that the dividing lines in history are not sharp and distinct, but rather a continuous flow of events. As far as is known there was no decided change at Newport after the Anti-Slavery Friends went back to the old Yearly Meeting, but things went on much as before.

In the meantime, Levi Coffin had moved to Cincinnati, but other Friends took up the work and carried it on. Still fugitive slaves came there and still they were cared for in very much the

1. The two factions were in Newport the same as in the Yearly Meeting.

same way as before, but the entire country was being aroused as to the awfulness of slavery. At first there were only faint whispers of war and then they became louder and more distinct, but the full force of it was not felt in the North because it was fought on Southern soil. The awfulness of the war was only realized by those whose loved ones left the home ties, many never to be reunited in this life. To others only the high prices indicated that war was in progress. Time dragged on for four long years, but with the end of the war came the end of slavery. Then it was no longer necessary for individuals and societies to protect fugitive slaves, for now they had National protection. Here was probably one of the sharpest dividing lines in history, for one day found them slaves and the next found them free, yes free.

Here we have seen Newport, first, as merely a part of a farm; then how it grew to be quite an industrial, educational, and most of all, a religious center. The very nature of the people determined the course of action they took toward slavery. Some believed in an unconditional emancipation, while others believed in the colonization method; and how these ideas gradually grew. Some of the first work of the former element, generally known as the anti-slavery element, was the taking up of the different free labor movements, *i. e.*, the different societies formed, the press, the platform and the free labor goods. And, all along, the work of the Underground Railroad was going on quietly. And then the separation in the church as a result of the conflict of the two forces mentioned above; and lastly, the end of slavery. However wrong the method of the anti-slavery people was, the motive back of it all was right; and this strong desire for the right will have its influence upon the people for generations to come.

The following is an account of the temperance movement at Newport during anti-slavery times, taken altogether from the book entitled, "Reminiscences of Levi Coffin," pp. 129-138:

In 1826 there were only about twenty families in Newport. Among the other industries here were two dram shops where liquor was sold in small quantities. With the increase in population came the increase in the demand for liquor. It was not until 1830 that the struggle began. "It was no uncommon thing to see a drinking, swearing gang of rowdies about the places of dissipation, or to hear them quarreling or fighting among themselves." Saturday seems to have been a good day for the rowdies from the surrounding neighborhoods to visit the village. The time had come for something to be done. Friends became very much disturbed over

such conduct and often labored with the liquor sellers, but accomplished nothing. Finally, Levi Coffin, Henry H. Way, and Daniel Puckett, held a conference regarding this evil. The first thing for them to do was to arouse public sentiment against it. They thought to organize a temperance society, but there was no such organization west of the mountains. They knew that the Friends opposed the unnecessary use of liquor, but thought they would probably differ as to its necessary use. All Friends were not total abstainers, so they had to have the support of the Methodists to carry out their plans. Three from each denomination had a meeting, called at the town school-house for the purpose of organizing a temperance society.

After much discussion the organization was completed under the name of the "Newport Temperance Society," with twelve signers to the constitution and pledge. The meeting adjourned to meet in one week from that time in the same place. "We knew that no church could be obtained for the purpose of holding such an incendiary meeting, as it was termed." The opposition was still noticeable at the next meeting and all sorts of flimsy arguments were brought up against the organization. For example, they said they were taking away the liberties of the citizens, also wishing to connect church and State. However, forty names were added to the roll. The women then began to take a decided stand, which always means strength and encouragement. The better the people understood the situation the more excited they became. Some said, "Our liberties are endangered by these fanatics at Newport; they are turning the world up-side-down in their fanatical zeal," etc. Among others to be alarmed were the liquor dealers, not only of Newport but of the surrounding country. At Williamsburg, a village four miles west, a council was held, which resulted in challenging Newport for a debate. Williamsburg chose John Hough, E. Lee, and Joseph Lomax, while Newport chose Dr. Henry H. Way, Willis Davis, and Abel Lomax, for their side. It was decided to hold this debate at the Newport school-house and to begin at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. One can get some idea of the debate when they learn that it continued till midnight. The negative debated fiercely, but were answered in a gentle way by the affirmative, and victory was gained for temperance. This organization met with decided opposition, even on the part of professors of religion, but amid such opposition the number reached between 300 and 400 signers of the pledge within a year.

Public sentiment was rapidly changing in and around the vil-

lage. It was not long before a man was looked upon with disgrace who would enter a saloon. Several of the saloon dealers were starved out for want of customers. As a result, they closed their doors and moved out of town when their licenses expired. Many of the rowdies moved away to more congenial quarters. Finally, all the shops, with the exception of one, was closed. This dealer had repeatedly promised to close his doors, but he did not until it was forced upon him. Later, a man by the name of Mann, almost a stranger in the town, rented the house, under the pretense of setting up a grocery, but a remonstrance was gotten up against him and the license was not granted. But Mann was not to be outdone; he employed a lawyer and with his help succeeded in getting his license. It was not until a pistol was fired in his saloon, the ball entering the head of the bed of a nearby neighbor, that the citizens were able to arrest him and thereby were able to close his doors. He was placed in jail to await his trial, which was to take place some time later, and he was finally bailed out. He then left the country and was never heard of again. 'Squire Curtis, a strong temperance man, was sent to the legislature, and through him the town succeeded in obtaining a special Act (under the old constitution of the State) passed. This act provided that no liquor should be sold in the corporated limits of Newport for any purpose, without permit from the trustees of the town. It was thought best by some to keep spirits in the town for medical purposes; so Levi Coffin was chosen to have charge of them. Later, a drug store was set up by Dr. Henry H. Way, who was given charge of the liquor, greatly to the satisfaction of Levi Coffin.

CHAPTER XII.

OLIVER P. MORTON.

BORN AT SALISBURY, OF ENGLISH DESCENT—EARLY EDUCATION—MARRIAGE—EARLY POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS—NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR AND DEFEATED IN 1856—BECOMES GOVERNOR IN 1861—HIS ADMINISTRATION DURING WAR TIMES—ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR—PHYSICAL SUFFERING IN LAST YEARS—DEATH.

Upon a backwoods road which leads south from the National Road, in Wayne county, Indiana, is an old building, two-stories high, used as a barn, although the window frames opening through its decaying weatherboards show that it was, in earlier times, a dwelling. Near by it is an old cabin and a clump of trees, west of the house, which marks the site of an old brick building which is also deserted. One would find it hard to imagine that this had once been the prosperous little town of Salisbury, at one time the county seat of Wayne county. But in this little village, on Aug. 4, 1823, there was born a child who was destined to act a very conspicuous part in the history of this State and county, and whose name is now as familiar as household words. This was Oliver Perry Morton, the great senator and war governor of Indiana. Oliver Hazard Perry Throck Morton (for thus the name stands in the family register) was the fourth child of James Throckmorton and Sarah.

Throckmorton is an old English name. In the ship with Roger Williams came John Throckmorton, who settled and lived in Providence, in the house next to Roger Williams, but his sons—John Throckmorton, Jr., and Job—went to New Jersey, where they are recorded among its earliest settlers. Among their descendants were James Throckmorton, who was born in New Jersey, May 4, 1782. It is not known why the family name was changed, but a sufficient reason would be found in the fact that Morton is much more convenient. But the first syllable of the original name has always been preserved in the family as a middle name, and James

Throckmorton commonly called himself James T. Morton. He was a man of sterling worth, sound sense, excellent judgment, and strict integrity. His wife, Sarah, was a large, robust, fine-looking woman, of strong character, good sense, remarkable memory, and excellent conversational powers. While no doubt Senator Morton inherited something of Puritan sturdiness and patriotic spirit from his father's family, yet his splendid physique, his energy and indomitable will came mostly from his mother's side. She died while Oliver was quiet young, so that he scarcely knew what it was to have a mother's love or care. While the family were in moderately comfortable circumstances, Oliver had none of the aids of wealth or social position in early life. Oliver P. Morton was named after Oliver H. Perry, the naval hero. His full name was, as has been mentioned before, Oliver Hazard Perry Throck Morton, but this was too much of a name for practical use, so the second title was thrown aside, as was also the first syllable of the family name, for convenience, and the name adopted was the one now well known to fame. After the death of his mother his boyhood was passed with his grandparents, in Ohio, and with two widowed aunts in Centerville. His aunts were Presbyterians of the strictest kind and the early impressions received from them influenced his whole life.

When about fourteen years of age he was placed, by his aunts, in the Wayne County Seminary. He was not generally noticed as a boy of extraordinary parts. He was quiet and undemonstrative, showing few characteristics different from those of the ordinary boy. He was large and sturdy and fond of athletic sports, excelling most of his companions in running, leaping and swimming. Morton's father moved to Centerville when Salisbury fell to decay and lived there until his death. Oliver was put to work in Centerville with his elder half-brother, William F. Morton, to learn the hatter's trade. During the four years spent here his spare hours were spent in reading and he finally quit his trade and entered the little college which bore the pretentious name of "Miami University," at Oxford, Ohio. His splendid physique and his sociable disposition drew to him the regard of that little community. He was a leader in athletic games, and those who saw him in later life, broken down by paralysis, remembered with a pang the days of youthful vigor, when he kicked the football clear over the dormitories at Oxford. But his chief delight was in extemporaneous debate. Caring nothing for literary display, his aim was to make his thoughts clear, impressive and forcible. During his stay here he

achieved the reputation of being the best debater in college. He left college because of financial affairs and immediately began the study of law in the office of Hon. John S. Newman, at Centerville.

He formed the acquaintance of a young lady, Lucinda S. Burbank, at Oxford. She had a brother who was a student there and who was a close friend of Morton's. At the end of the first year she went with a party of young women to attend commencement. Morton fell desperately in love with her and on May 15 they were married. The marriage proved a very happy one and the gentle lady with whom he thus became united exercised a most gracious influence over his subsequent life. He repaid her devotion with tender affection. Her presence and care were a necessity to him. At this period of his life it is not probable that Mr. Morton had any political aspirations or indeed any plans beyond acquiring a knowledge of law and taking a proper position at the bar. His two years of college experience had taught him how to study and he grappled with the intricacies of law like one who both intended to master them and was conscious of his ability to do so. He was very young and his practice was of quite recent growth, yet he is spoken of in high terms as a judge. He was never a man of many words, but what he said went to the core of things. As one attorney—B. R. Sulgrove, of Marion county—said, "His first words laid hold of the 'nub' of the case and all that followed peeled off the husk and he was done." He advanced steadily in practice and soon came to be regarded as a rising lawyer. So successful was he that in five years after his admission to the bar he was appointed, by the governor as Circuit Judge. He served as a judge about a year, but preferred the bar to the bench. After his term expired he went to the Cincinnati Law School and took a six months' course. After six months of close study he returned to his profession and devoted himself to his practice with an assiduity and zeal that won new success. During the next few years he accumulated enough money to buy a few acres of land and to build a neat little dwelling west of Centerville.

During the first ten years of Mr. Morton's adult life he was a Democrat. On the day of the Presidential election a young man of large frame, with high forehead, dark eyes, and with clothes that fitted him none too well, rode into Centerville upon a gray horse, bespattered with mud. It was "Ob" Morton, then a student at Miami University, who had come home from Oxford, twenty-eight miles away, to cast his first vote for James K. Polk, the candidate of the Democratic party. For ten years after that he continued to

act with the Democracy, but be it said to his credit that he was among the first to discern the dangerous tendencies of that party and to rebel against the haughty dictation of the slave power. He left the Democracy, but did not join any party then. The Presidential campaign was now approaching. The supporters of the Free Soil movement, who in most of the Northern States now bore the name of Republicans, had as yet no national organization. After much hesitation and correspondence a preliminary convention was announced to meet at Pittsburgh. Wayne county took an active part in this movement and a meeting of the citizens was held at Richmond, Feb. 18, at which resolutions were made appointing Oliver P. Morton as a delegate to the convention. So Morton was present at the birth of the Republican party.

On May 1, 1856, the Republicans met at Indianapolis to nominate candidates for State officers. The Hon. Henry S. Lane, then, as now, honored by the Republicans of Indiana, was president and inspired the body with his lofty enthusiasm. A delegate moved that Oliver P. Morton be nominated by accclamation for Governor. The motion was received and carried amid deafening and long continued cheers.* In a brief address accepting the nomination, Mr. Morton defined his position on the public questions of the day, avowed his unalterable opposition to the extension of slavery, denounced the outrage of attempting to force the institution upon Kansas, and declared his intention of meeting his opponent before the people and upholding these principles. Mr. Morton accepted this nomination with a full consciousness that there was little or no chance of his election and that he was expected to make a thorough canvass of the State, but he had embarked in the new movement and his heart was in the cause. His opponent in the contest was Ashbel P. Willard, a very able and one of the most brilliant speakers of his day. He represented an old, compact, and powerful political organization, strengthened by the prestige of time and past successes, while Mr. Morton appeared as the champion of a new party, comparatively weak in members and organization, but strong in the consciousness of right principles. Willard was sort of a party pet, a fluent speaker, ready in debate and widely known throughout the State, with an established reputation as an orator. Morton was at that time comparatively unknown to the people of the State at large and had his reputation as a political speaker to make. Willard indulged much in ridicule, invective, and personality. Morton abstained from these. Willard was impetuous and

*Account in the Indianapolis Journal of the next day.

violent; Morton always slower, always self-contained, and had greater reserve power. An arrangement for a joint canvass between the two candidates was gladly entered into by the Democrats, who thought their eloquent champion would easily dispose of his comparatively unknown antagonist. But the canvass had not progressed far before Mr. Morton showed himself to be greatly the superior of Governor Willard in political information, force of argument, and all the essential elements of political oratory.

From that time forward he was the recognized leader of the Republican party in Indiana. The campaign ended as he probably expected it would, in his defeat, but the foundations of the Republican party had been laid broad and deep in the minds of the people. At that time the Republicans of Indiana considered his defeat a great misfortune, but in the light of subsequent history it cannot be so regarded. "There is a divinity which shapes our ends." He was reserved for greater things. Had he been elected, he could not have been our great War Governor. What changes might have happened, not only to the State but to the fortunes of the Union arms had Morton in his first campaign obtained the object of his desires.

After the unsuccessful campaign of 1856, Mr. Morton resumed the practice of law. His advice was constantly sought for in party affairs and he had already come to be recognized as by far the best political organizer and director in the State. In 1860 the Republican party stood before the country with a complete organization prepared to dispute the field with the Democracy in every Northern State, with fair prospects of success. In this year the Republicans again demanded the services of Mr. Morton, nominating him for lieutenant-governor, with the Hon. Henry S. Lane for governor, with the distinct understanding that if the party was successful Mr. Lane should go to the United States Senate and Mr. Morton become governor. Again, as in 1856, the latter threw aside private and professional business at the call of the party which he honestly believed represented the salvation of the country and prepared for another thorough canvass of the State. His splendid physical health at that time, his tireless energy and devotion to the cause, pointed to him as the principal worker in the campaign. Commencing at Terre Haute, he traversed the entire State and delivered many masterly speeches. His speech at Terre Haute was logical and argumentative and was a triumphant defense of the Republican principles. There were other workers in the good cause, but perhaps not another so earnest and effective as Mr. Mor-

ton. The election resulted in the success of the whole Republican ticket by about 10,000 majority. Immediately upon the convening of the legislature, Gov. Henry S. Lane was elected by the Republicans as United States Senator, and on Jan. 16, 1861, Oliver P. Morton became Governor of Indiana. The office had in store for him such labors and responsibilities as seldom fall to the lot of any man and was destined to bring him a corresponding amount of honorable fame.

On Nov. 22, 1860, a Republican mass meeting was called in Indiana to ratify the election of Lincoln and to present their views on the political situation. After a speech by Governor Lane Morton followed with a speech. After a glowing eulogium upon the Union and the advantages and necessity of its preservation, he declared that if the issue were disunion or war, he, and as he believed, the Republican party, was for war. The audience knew he was a strong and bold man and they expected strong and bold words, but their hearts leaped with joy when they heard these sentiments. Then and there, for the first time by any leading man, was the duty of the government in the pending crisis clearly and boldly asserted. The grandeur and glory of the Union were set forth in eloquent words and the power of the government to coerce a seceding State was asserted in the strongest terms. These sentiments were rapturously applauded, and when the speaker closed the whole audience was in a state of patriotic excitement. It went to the popular heart like a bullet to its mark. Mr. Lincoln said: "It covers the whole situation and declares the whole policy of the government. It is the policy I shall pursue from the first." This speech was the keynote of Morton's subsequent career.

Governor Morton was a man of affairs and took hold of the business of the office as one who knew there was work to do. His first attention was turned toward reforming the civil administration of the State. The financial affairs of the State were in great confusion and embarrassment. In spite of the immense labors devolved upon him, he was able to accomplish wonders in the way of placing the finances of the State on solid basis. Meanwhile, the storm clouds were gathering in the South. Governor Morton foresaw the coming storm and was one of the most active in preparing to meet it. At this period events follow each other in rapid succession and culminated in the firing on Fort Sumter and the surrender of that post to the Confederates. On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for 75,000 men, and before the proclamation was received in Indianapolis, Governor

Morton had telegraphed as follows: "On behalf of the State of Indiana, I tender to you for the defense of the Nation and to uphold the authority of the Government, 10,000 men." Six additional regiments were soon ready to be put into the field, and thus at the very threshold of the conflict he showed an appreciation of its probable magnitude and an energy in preparing for it not evinced by the governor of any other Northern State. At the beginning of the war, the attitude of Kentucky was a constant source of alarm along the border. Her governor, Benale Magoffin, had refused, with insult, the call of the President for troops. The Unionists of that State began to call Morton, "the Governor of Indiana and Kentucky," and their affection for him was unabounded. Morton's great services in protecting the State were fully appreciated at the time and are still remembered by the Union men of Kentucky. In acknowledging his services after one of the invasions, the Louisville Journal, of whom George D. Prentice was editor, said: "He has been emphatically Kentucky's guardian spirit from the very commencement of the dangers that threatened her existence. Kentucky and the whole country owe him a large debt of gratitude." Governor Morton has been called "the Soldier's Friend," and he fairly earned the title by his indefatigable efforts in their behalf. These efforts were directed not only towards securing for the Indiana soldiers the best of everything in the way of arms, thus adding to their efficiency and safety in the field, but to seeing that they were well supplied with every comfort that could possibly be supplied in time of war. He issued a proclamation to the women of Indiana, asking for articles of clothing which they could make themselves. In response to this, an immense quantity of clothing was forwarded to the soldiers.

As the summer went on, the victories gained by the Union arms were followed by reverses. Lincoln was fearful lest a public call for troops would lead to a panic, and he therefore, on June 30, addressed to Morton, as well as to other governors of loyal States, a letter asking for 150,000 men. Morton's response was prompt and satisfactory and Stanton sent to Morton the laconic congratulations, "Well done, Indiana." A serious difficulty in forwarding these troops was found in the absence of money for bounties and advance pay. Many of the men had left their homes suddenly, without providing for their families. Morton's action in this emergency was characteristic. He telegraphed to Mark E. Reeves, a merchant in Cincinnati, asking that $100,000 be sent that evening to pay the troops. By the 19th it is said that Morton had borrowed

$500,000, and when the payment was made the banks would accept no interest.

Before the legislature met there were hints of the misuse of public money by the Governor. There was a resolution introduced that there should be a statement of all expenditures presented. The very next day the Governor sent the statement to the legislature. His critics could find nothing to object to, so nothing more was heard of it. Nothing could be found wrong in any place, and thus the threatened exposures ended in disappointment. Meanwhile, the General Assembly went on with its consideration of war. The soldiers proposed that the legislature pledge itself by appropriate resolutions to preserve the Union, to prosecute the war, to sustain the State and National authorities with money and supplies, and they tendered to Governor Morton the thanks of his grateful friends in the army for his extraordinary efforts in their behalf, and assured him that neither time nor the corrupting influence of party spirit should ever estrange the soldiers from the "soldier's friend." The successful establishment of a Home for Disabled Soldiers and afterwards a Home for Soldiers' Orphans, upon his recommendation and plans, added in no small degree to the glory of Indiana's war record. In recommending, in his last message to the legislature, the erection of a State monument in honor of all her brave soldiers who perished in the war, he was actuated by the same tender appreciation and solicitude for their memory which characterized his whole life. Thus, while giving the General Government a powerful support in the work of putting down the insurrection, and while looking vigilantly after the interests of Indiana soldiers in the field, he was still able to administer the domestic affairs of the State with unequaled ability, and to give her a much higher rank in the sisterhood of State than she had ever held before; and he converted the name of Hoosier from one of ridicule to one of honor.

Therefore, when the Republican convention met at Indianapolis, Feb. 22, 1864, to nominate a State ticket, he was unanimously nominated for re-election. In accepting the nomination he made one of the ablest speeches of his life, reviewing the whole administration, the measures he had taken to uphold the honor and preserve the peace of the State, pointing out the perils of the Government and the duty of the times. His opponent for the governorship was Hon Joseph E. McDonald. A joint canvass of the State was arranged for and the opening debate was appointed to take place at Laporte. The character of the occasion and the import-

ance of the issues involved drew an immense crowd, being estimated at not less than 20,000. His competitor was ten years his senior, a skilled debater and a strong man. Although politically opposed, they were really friends, and the contest between them was conducted in a fair and dignified manner. Governor Morton's speech at Laporte was pronounced by all who heard it a great and convincing one. The result of the opening debate was a decided victory for Morton, and from that moment his friends confidently predicted his election. After a thorough campaign he was re-elected governor by over 20,000 majority and the Republicans gained a majority in the Senate.

Governor Morton then entered upon his second term. He was now forty-two years old and in the prime of his physical and mental strength. His energy, patriotism, executive ability, and fertility of resources, were a theme of general comment. His services to the State and Nation were known and honored everywhere. At this time there were secret societies formed all over the State. The "Knights of the Golden Circle" was organized before the war and had members in Indiana at the outbreak of the struggle. About the first of December it was discovered that the order of the "Golden Circle" had been introduced into the Federal camp at Indianapolis. This created much anxiety and vigorous measures were taken to eradicate the order from the army. The Governor received information that many of the Knights were armed and were plotting mischief. A project for the assassination of Morton was also conceived. The Governor received letters of warning, one insisting that he change his sleeping room, as the conspirators knew the exact arrangement of his house. One night when he was out late a shot was actually fired at him and the ball whistled close to his head. No clew was ever found to the man guilty of this cowardly act.

The war was now rapidly drawing to a close. It was just after the re-election of Lincoln that Sherman started upon his march to the sea. Lincoln began his second term by the inaugural containing the words, "With malice toward none, with charity for all." Grant was tightening his relentless grasp upon Petersburg and the Confederate capital. The final blow was delivered at Five Forks and on April 9, Lee's army surrendered at Appomattox. This event was celebrated with great rejoicing. The war was over. Every face was radiant with the hope of coming peace. At 2 o'clock on the night of April 14, Morton was awakened from his sleep to receive the fateful telegram. Before he opened it he had a foreboding of a danger which had been often before his eyes.

He said, "Lincoln is killed," and so it was. The hearts which had been beating high with enthusiasm were now crushed with sorrow. The blow fell with crushing weight upon the whole country, and amid a Nation of mourners no man felt it more keenly than Governor Morton, the trusted friend, counsellor, and co-laborer of the martyred President. The Governor and his staff met the funeral cortege at the Ohio line, the body lay in state at the Capitol during Sunday, and at night it was sent westward to its final resting place.

About the first of June the veterans began to come home, and many regiments, one after another, passed through Indianapolis. Morton determined that not one of them should be without its public reception. On each of these occasions the gun was fired at 8 o'clock in the morning, the ladies of the city prepared breakfast at the Soldiers' Home, and the veterans then marched to the state house, where there was a speech by the Governor, or by some one in authority. During this time it became evident that Morton's health was seriously impaired. He came often to the reception of the veteran regiment, so haggard and careworn that he could hardly deliver the speech of welcome expected of him, and sometimes he had to stay away. Thus came the disease which afflicted him during the remainder of his life. He was immediately placed under medical treatment, and, after a few months, little or no benefit being gained, he was advised to visit Europe and place himself in the hands of an eminent physician at Paris. The scene in the hall of the house of representatives on the occasion of his formal leave-taking was impressive and affecting. At this time party jealousies and party strifes were forgotten and the better instincts of men were permitted their natural action. Resolutions complimenting the Governor in the highest terms and expressing deep sympathy with him in his affliction were drawn up and adopted by the general assembly without a dissenting voice. The indifference of friends, the prejudices of enemies, now gave place to a profound realization of his talents, his patriotism, and his labor. Early in December, 1865, Governor Morton sailed from New York, accompanied by his wife, his son, and a friend, and proceeded with as little delay as possible to Paris. He remained in that city under medical treatment about six weeks. Then, hoping to get some benefit by change of climate, he traveled through portions of Italy and Switzerland. He received little or no benefit, either from the treatment or travel, and returned home in March, 1866.

During Governor Morton's absence in Europe his duties had been ably performed by Lieut.-Gov. Conrad Baker. It was decided

by the State legislature that, if the Republicans carried the State, Governor Morton was to be elected United States Senator. The Republican campaign opened at Indianapolis, June 20, Governor Morton being announced as speaker. The largest hall in the city was densely crowded with an audience anxious to see him once more. He was received with a storm of applause, the audience rising to their feet and cheering for several minutes. He spoke sitting, but through his physical helplessness the power of his mind gleamed more brightly than ever. His speech was powerful and eloquent. Now the war was over, the question was whether the fruits of victory should be preserved or surrendered. The latter portion of it was terribly severe. He dwelt upon the course of the Democracy during the war and recalled their countless acts of disloyalty. He hurled facts and history at them with fatal precision and effect. Nearly every sentence was received with cheers by the audience and the applause seemed to inspire the speaker. There had been no such enthusiasm in Indianapolis since the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. The speech was regarded by the Republicans of Indiana and other States as a powerful campaign document and nearly 3,000,000 copies of it were circulated in different States of the Union. The election resulted in a sweeping Republican victory. The legislature elected Morton United States Senator. His political record and services were known to the Senate as they were throughout the Nation and he was at once welcomed into the fullest political confidence by the other Senators.

The great question before Congress and the country when Senator Morton entered the Senate was that of the reconstruction of Southern States. The great question was just how far the government could safely go in restoring the late Confederates to their political rights. On this question Senator Morton had well settled views. He held that treason was a crime and that those who had engaged in it should be made to realize the fact. He desired to accord them all civil and political rights as soon as it was safe to do so, but he also wished to have the future peace and security of the Union "so imbedded in the imperishable bulwarks of the Constitution that the waves of secession might dash against it in vain." His first speech in the Senate was upon this subject. When he began the Senators conducted themselves in the manner usual during a long speech, but after a few sentences the newspapers were dropped, the writing of letters was abandoned, and every Senator gave his attention to the speaker. Morton spoke for one hour and twenty minutes. His sentences fell like sledge-

hammer blows. Every word was weighty. He had made no preparation, excepting a few notes, to which he seldom referred. At the conclusion of his argument the senators flocked around him to congratulate him. It was intended that some Democrat should answer it, but there was no one found willing to undertake the task without future preparation. Two hundred thousand copies of it were printed in Washington and 2,000,000 copies were distributed during the following campaign.

Morton, himself, regarded it as the best argument he had ever made. It was translated into German, French, Spanish and Italian, and Morton received 600 letters of congratulations in regard to it. To no one person, living or dead, is the credit for the adoption of the Fifteenth amendment to the Constitution so largely due as to Senator Morton. He championed the measure from the beginning and was ably seconded by other Republican senators. Another Presidential election was approaching. There was some little opposition to Grant, made public by some of the newspapers. Oliver P. Morton attended the convention at Philadelphia, June 5, and in a speech before that body indulged in sarcastic allusions to the dissatisfied Republicans. Grant was nominated without a dissenting vote. In Indiana, Morton had to make his fight for re-election to the Senate. He realized that it was a doubtful and bitter struggle and his whole strength was thrown into the contest. He made a thorough canvass through the State and on Nov. 26 Morton was elected.

In the second term his work was as admirable as in the first term. He led in the great debates on the Ku-Klux-Klan in the South, the Louisiana case, the Mississippi election, and other questions which have passed into political history. He wished to base the reconstruction of the South on enduring principles and to rear the temple of peace, not on a foundation of shifting sand, but upon the solid rock. Andrew Johnson had come back to the Senate with a heart filled with bitterness against many of the Republicans who had turned upon him during his administration. He died on July 30, 1875. In spite of their political differences, Morton always had a feeling of personal friendship and a certain admiration for the old Military Governor of Tennessee and he paid a sincere tribute to Johnson's memory with much depth of feeling. During the whole of General Grant's two administrations Senator Morton was his trusted friend and counsellor. He offered him two or three high positions, which Morton rejected with logical reasons. Morton was also a great aid to President Hayes in making his cabinet ap-

pointments. Hayes was determined to withdraw the Federal troops from the South and Morton gave his reluctant approval. Indeed his one great aim throughout his career in the Senate was to keep the Republican party whole and sound.

After he had come from Washington to Indianapolis, he took a suite of rooms at the Remy Hotel, where his callers numbered thirty or forty every day. Men from every State sought his influence, and his daily mail was enormous. He seldom threw a letter into the waste basket. That Governor Morton should have been able, in his condition of health, partially paralyzed and seriously enfeebled, to hold during nearly ten years the position of acknowledged leader of the Senate and the greatest political organizer of his time, is a striking proof of his wonderful energy and will power. In the spring of 1877, the Senate ordered an investigation into the case of Senator Grover, of Oregon, who was charged with having procured his election corruptly. This duty was referred to Senators Morton, Saulsbury, and McMillan. The last public appearance of Senator Morton in Indiana was on Decoration Day, at Crown Hill Cemetery, Indianapolis, in honor of the memory of the soldiers buried there. Thus his last public utterance in the State was in connection with the brave patriots for whom he cared so tenderly in life. He was in poor health when he started for Oregon, but thought the journey would do him good. By the time he reached Portland, Ore., he was apparently in fine health and ready for any amount of hard work. At the conclusion of the investigation he addressed a public meeting at Salem in a speech of considerable length, which the Oregon papers pronounced the best ever heard in the State. Leaving Oregon, accompanied by his wife and youngest son, he reached San Francisco early in August. On the 6th, after an entertainment in which he had eaten heartily, he found he had less command of his limbs than usual and noticed a numbness on his left side. By morning his entire left side had become paralyzed. As soon as he knew his condition he was determined at once to start for Indiana. A special car was prepared for him and he was accompanied by his wife and son, brother-in-law, and physician. His home in Indianapolis was not in condition to receive him, so he was taken to Mrs. Burbanks', his wife's mother, at Richmond.

On Sept. 13, the President of the United States visited Richmond for the express purpose of calling upon the sick Senator. On Oct. 15, his health was so much improved that he was taken to his own home at Indianapolis. The short trip seemed to do him good and the hope of his recovery was strengthened.

All this time he took a lively interest in current affairs and especially in what was passing in the political world. He wanted those around him to read to him constantly, which they did. His mind continued active and clear, and when friends visited his bedside he would welcome them with a pleasant smile and grasp of the hand. Thursday, Nov. 1, was dark and gloomy. It was evident that Morton had not many hours to live. During the day he lay very quietly, speaking only to make known his wants. Shortly before 5 o'clock he had a paroxysm of pain and appeared to be dying, though he still gave signs of recognition. He said, "I am dying; I am worn out." These were his last words; then he ceased to move and at twenty-eight minutes past 5 o'clock the vital spark went out and the great and illustrious life had reached its end.

The news of Senator Morton's death caused a profound sensation throughout the country. Although the event had been anticipated for several days, it came as a shock at last and created a sorrow so deep and widespread that it could only be compared to that caused by the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln. Flags were displayed at half-mast and bells were tolled throughout the land. His remains lay in state at the court house during Sunday and part of Monday, and were reviewed by many thousands of persons who came from far and near to take a last look at one who had filled so large a place in the history of the country. After solemn ceremonies at the church the procession formed, by far the largest ever seen in Indiana, and the remains of the dead Governor and Senator were borne to Crown Hill Cemetery and there laid to rest, close to the graves of the soldiers for whom he had so tenderly cared. He was at the time of his death but fifty-four years of age. Indiana lost in him her most eminent statesman, the country one of its wisest counsellors, and the Republican party of our State its greatest leader. His services to his State and his Nation will live forever in history, while the enmities which he engendered have already been buried. He was possessed of an intense nature and human ambitions, but he was a man of powerful convictions. The world loves to honor those lofty spirits, whose life powers were dedicated to the cause of human liberty. Morton was a giant, physically, morally, and intellectually, and was led only by an overmastering sense of duty. A high forehead, large head, black hair, dark, searching eyes, a huge, well proportioned body and broad shoulders, and a commanding presence, were the physical manifestations of Morton's indomitable will and the plain and simple strength of his intellect and character. He was the greatest

debater of his time—intense, logical and profound; bold, manly and energetic. The thought was so prominent that it stood boldly to the front and the words seemed massed behind it, crowding irresistibly upon his auditors.

Senator Booth has said: "As a debater, he was an athlete, trained down to pure muscle. In speech, he was careless of the graces of oratory and polish of style; his earnestness enchained attention, his directness carried conviction, and there was a natural symmetry in the strength of his statements above the reach of art." There were probably no other men of his time who could hold so many thousands in silence before him for so many hours. In the early part of his career his splendid physical presence added much to the effect he produced, and later, when crippled with disease he spoke from his seat (Sitting Bull, his enemies called him), his oratory lost nothing by the infirmity. His friendship for the soldiers did not proceed from mere desire for popularity. At any hour, no matter how imperative the demands upon his time, he gave away to their appeals and became as tender as a woman in his sympathy. Thousands of hearts were cheered and saved by his timely succor. Nor did he forget the widowed and the fatherless. Indiana soldiers came to know this stern, unyielding man was as gentle as a woman and as tender as an angel of mercy when he looked upon their wounds and beheld their suffering.

Morton's home life was ideal. The wish of one was the desire of all. Never cloud shadowed it nor frown chilled it. The peace, the love, good-night kisses, and the happy morning greetings were always present. Those who gained admission to his home circle could not fail to observe the spirit of love and confidence that prevailed. Morton belonged to no church. He seldom spoke of religion. Yet, although he cared little for theology, he was by no means without religious feeling. Morton expressed his faith in immortality and his belief in a religion of love that discarded the "dry husks of creeds" and planted itself in the broadest philanthrophy and tolerance. The kindliness of his character, the unselfishness of his disposition, was manifested in his consideration of the needs of others, and the honesty of his purpose in rendering every possible aid to all, constituted the strength of his character. "Grit is the grain of character. It may generally be described as heroism materialized—spirit and will thrust into heart, brain and backbone, so as to form part of the physical substance of the man." The writer of that truth might well have had Oliver P. Morton in mind. Time has cast no cloud upon his memory nor darkened a

single spot upon his record. Linking his destiny with that of the Union, he became the rivet which made secure the position of his State, and earned in full measure the honor his State accords him.

The world is so much better than it was before. Men's minds as well as bodies everywhere are free. Slavery is gone forever, and on the seat of independence, dignity, and power, free labor sits enthroned. Liberty at last is dwelling among the sons of men. All this we owe to the heroes of the people, those minds of light and lion hearts and wills imperial, who voiced the people's thoughts, led the people's cause to victory, and enshrined the people's rights in the people's imperishable nation; and among them stands our Morton, immortal with the immortality of deeds.

CHAPTER XIII.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

ANCESTRY—EARLY STRUGGLES—STUDIES LAW—ENTERS POLITICS AND BEGINS HIS CAREER AS A STATESMAN—SERVICES IN CONGRESS—POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS—PUBLIC LAND POLICY—PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The success or failure of a nation is due to the character of its men. In studying the history of the United States one can see that its rapid progress is due to certain men who have been willing to give their time and thought to its betterment. Among these men, George W. Julian ranks high, and one cannot fail to notice the part he played in establishing the great principles of justice and freedom upon which the nation is founded. He will long be remembered for the effective work he did in Congress during the reconstruction period, as well as the active part he took in the struggle against slavery and his connection with the reorganization of the Republican party. He seemed to live ahead of the times and then did much in preparing the citizens and directing their thoughts on the approaching problems.

George W. Julian's paternal ancestors were of French extraction and were the first ones of that name to come to America, where they settled on the eastern shore of Maryland near the close of the Eighteenth century. On account of continued Indian troubles the family soon after fled to North Carolina. George W. Julian's father and mother left North Carolina near the beginning of the Nineteenth century and were among the very earliest settlers of the Indiana Territory. They settled near Centerville, the county seat of Wayne county, where George W. was born, May 5, 1817. His father was very prominent among the pioneers of Indiana, and in 1822 became a member of the State legislature.

When George W. was six years old his father died, leaving his mother with six children, almost destitute. As many great men have done, he developed his courage, character, and strength,

in the severe struggle for existence that followed. The family tried to get their support from a barren farm, a sugar grove being its only source of revenue. The mother wove cloth for the neighbors, while George W. and his brothers would weave straw hats. George was very ambitious, however, and would not let his poverty discourage him. He attended the common public schools in winter and applied himself well. After working hard all day at school, and in the fields, he was accustomed to split a quantity of kindlings, and in place of oil or candle pursue his studies until late by their light. His interest in books was nourished, and devouring all the knowledge he could grasp in school and from the books, which he was able to borrow in the neighborhood, he soon equaled the teachers. This diligence and indomitable perseverance in the line of mental improvement, as well as his determination to succeed, developed in him very young the habit of self-reliance and close observation. When George W. Julian was eighteen years old he began to teach school, and doubtless was far more efficient than the average teacher. Although self-distrust was an almost insurmountable obstacle for him he showed his strength and nerve at many times. A story is told of an attempt made by some of the big boys of his school, re-enforced by some men at work on the Cumberland Road, near by, to compel him to treat on Christmas day, according to the custom of that locality. Julian, remembering the tendency to riotous conduct and also on account of his financial difficulties, refused to do it, and had the nerve and strength to stand for his own convictions against that crowd.

During the three years he taught he was continually studying, by himself, rhetoric, languages, logic, natural philosophy, chemistry, mathematics, and surveying. In the summer, when his short term of school was over, he engaged in surveying, and at one time was employed as rodman. In 1839 he started West, seeking work as a surveyor, but was unsuccessful and returned to Centerville to continue the study of law, which he had begun the year before while teaching school in Western Illinois. He studied under John S. Newman, of Centerville, and was admitted to the bar in 1840. In his practice self-distrust seemed an almost insurmountable obstacle. He became a public speaker only by most vigorous training and persistent self-conquest. The assurance of a successful lawyer was lacking, and in his autobiography he says: "Sometimes in my despair I felt that I must break the chains which bound me, but I was powerless to do so, and no word of encouragement from any quarter cheered me." His mother did all that was in her power to help him and encourage him.

Centerville was not an easy town for the study of law. In this little town there was collected some of the best talent of the State, political and professional men of eminence, as Nimrod H. Johnson, John Newman, Charles H. Test, Joshua H. Mellett, James Raridan, and others who have had prominent places among the influential men of Indiana. A sort of aristocracy had arisen among these men which was hard for a young and inexperienced lawyer to break into. Thus, because of this, George W. Julian, Oliver P. Morton, Will McCullough, and a few others, organized a debating society in Centerville known as the "Dark Lyceum." Their meetings were held in the second story of an old seminary building, these sessions usually being held in the dark so the debators might speak and gesticulate with free will. This secret society grew in importance, and they took in new law students until they had an enrollment of sixteen. Their rooms were fitted up and a library was bought. In this society all the great men, such as Caesar, Demosthenes, Cicero, and others, were claimed as members. Their meetings were carried on with great formality, and each evening some profound question was argued, as well as questions of the day, such as the Monroe Doctrine, the Wilmot Proviso, and other phases of the vital slave question, which resulted in the conversion of many of its members to the Republican party. George W. Julian cast his first Presidential ballot for General Harrison, in 1840. He knew nothing of party politics and was influenced by his early associations and, as he says, in his "Political Recollections": "In the matter of attending mass-meetings, singing Whig songs and drinking hard cider, I played a considerable part in the memorable campaign of that year." He also supported the Whig candidate because he regarded him as a poor man and thought he would be a better man to administer to the poor people in their poverty and hard times than Van Buren, who was an aristocrat and had high ambitions to gain all control in his hands by overthrowing the liberties of the people. This first campaign disappointed Julian. He always took things very seriously, and of the nature of the campaign he says, in his "Political Recollections": "It was a grand national frolic, in which the imprisoned mirth and fun of the people found such jubilant and uproarious expression that anything like calmness of judgment and real seriousness of purpose was out of the question in the Whig camp."

In 1844 his political convictions were more advanced and matured. From the beginning he upheld Clay, although he did not agree on all his methods and was greatly grieved and disappointed

over what was known as the "Alabama Letter," in which he made known some of his views on slavery. At this time Julian stated, for the first time, his thoughts on many of the public questions which were worked out later, as repudiating the public lands as a source of revenue, and on the subject of protection. On the subject of slavery he was very much alive. Being of Quaker training and aroused by the anti-slavery papers against the usurpation that would lead to the extension of slavery and war, he thought it his duty to resist the election of Polk. And thus he made his first venture as a stump speaker, and was very much disappointed that his efforts did not aid in the election of the Whig candidate.

He began his career as a statesman the next year in the State legislature of Indiana. He was a representative of the Whig party, but never hesitated to act independently of the party principles when they clashed with his own convictions. Because of his independence along this line he received much censure from his constituents when he supported the "Butler Bill," a bill which provided that one-half the State debt be cancelled and the State saved from repudiation. His advocacy of this important measure probably lost for him the re-election but won for him his seat in United States legislature, because so many Democrats voted for him. He also distinguished himself in this State legislature by his earnest support of the abolition of capital punishment. He was a member of the committee to which the bill was referred, and through his persistence in bringing the bill before the house with favorable reports, finally succeeded in getting it passed, with its amendments; and on the motion of Julian it was named "An act relative to the punishment of treason and murder in the first degree." Failing to be re-nominated, he returned to Centerville and took up his law practice. After the Presidential election of 1844 he resolved never to vote for another slaveholder, and when Taylor, a slaveholder, was nominated on the Whig ticket, he lost interest in politics and decided to devote all his attention to his profession. His sympathy was with the new national party, the Free Soil or Liberty party, which was gaining in strength and which had nominated Van Buren as their candidate. He defended this Abolitionist party and claimed the treatment given them as unjust. They had been very much misrepresented and misunderstood, and their only offense was the espousal of the truth in advance of the multitude, which slowly and finally followed their example. He desired to avoid strife with the Whigs, who were among his best friends and clients, but his conscience would not permit that he remain

quiet and not exert his influence against the evils of slavery. He saw clearly that the system of slavery was degrading throughout, in its character and its consequences. He was essentially a reformer and, being independent, broke fearlessly with his party, when he could not follow them. Julian was ahead of his time, and especially in his opinions on slavery. He saw, in 1844, what it took many men ten years longer to see, and for this reason was criticised and considered radical by many of his old Whig friends. When he was invited to become a delegate to the Free Soil convention in Buffalo, on Aug. 9, 1848, he accepted the nomination, and from that time became an active and ardent worker in the Abolition party.

This convention was historic and marked an epoch in party politics and the anti-slavery movement. Its leaders were men of character and ability and from various factions. It was a tedious process to harmonize all the different elements which had drifted into the party, the disappointed Clay Whigs, the Liberty party, the "Conscience Whigs," the "Land Reformers" of New York, and also the advocates of "cheap postage for the people." Martin Van Buren seemed to be the candidate for nomination for President. Julian felt he could not support Mr. Van Buren under any circumstances after the last campaign, but the growing spirit of political fraternity modified his views. He saw that the leaders of all factions would have to yield to one man in order to unite on the one great and vital issue. All divisions finally gave way and Van Buren was nominated by acclamation.

The new national party was now launched and Julian hurried home to take up the fight. He gained much criticism for his move and in his "Political Recollections" describes his treatment by his Whig friends: "Words were neither minced nor modified, but made the vehicles of political wrath and explosives of personal malice. The charge of 'Abolitionism' was flung at me everywhere, and it is impossible now to realize the odium then attaching to that term by the general opinion. I was branded as the 'apostle of disunion' and 'the orator of free-dirt.' I was threatened with mob violence by my own neighbors and treated as if slavery had been an established institution of the State—while these same Whigs, as if utterly unconscious of the irony of their professions, uniformly resolved in their convention that 'the Whig party is the only true Free Soil party.'" These taunts and jeers made no impression on Julian, and he sallied forth on the work of the campaign, riding a huge white horse, "fully sixteen hands high and rather thin in flesh." He spoke two and three times a day, usually in barns, crossroads, saw

mills, or any other place where a few or many people were liable to hear him. His Whig neighbors declared his audience consisted of "eleven men, three boys, and a negro," which Julian said was not far from true in many places. But he "considered principle more important than audience" and continued his work, proclaiming anti-slavery truths. He describes his feelings in his "Political Recollections": "I was so perfectly swallowed up in my work and dominated by the singleness of my purpose that I took no thought of any thing else; and the vigor of my invective, in dealing with the scurrilous attacks of my assailants, was very keenly realized and, I believe, universally acknowledged. With the truth on my side, I was delighted to find myself perfectly able, single-handed, to fight and battle against the advantages of superior talent and the trained leadership of men of established reputation on the stump." Although he was not successful in electing Van Buren, the results of this contest were remarkable in aiding and preparing the way for the great work of the succeeding years.

Julian's next move was towards the United States Congress. Although he had acquired many enemies by his recent acts during the Presidential campaign, he announced his intention to run for Congress. The parties at that time were so confused that every one seemed to be a party of his own. The contest was bitter, beyond all precedent; but after a hard fight and by the union of Free Soilers, Democrats, and Independent Whigs, he was elected by a small majority. In this Congress, after having been delayed in arriving by a serious illness, he hastened to join the Free Soil representatives, whose political troubles and fortunes were similar to his own. The "immortal nine," as they were often called, were soon together. This group was composed of Julian and eight other anti-slavery men, such as David Wilmot, then famous as the author of the "Proviso," and Joshua Giddings, who, as Julian says, "was as familiar with the slavery question, in all its aspects, as he was with the alphabet." During this Congress the slavery question received daily attention. The great issue was the Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories, known as the "Wilmot Proviso," for which Julian worked with tireless efforts. In the same spirit he fought against the Fugitive Slave Bill, which converted the North into slave hunting ground for the South; also the Texas Boundary Bill, popular sovereignty on the slave question in the Territories, and the organization of the House in the interest of slavery. During the first months of this session his spare moments were devoted to the preparation of a speech on the

slavery question. His constituents expected it, as well as the members of Congress. He says, in his "Political Recollections," "It was my darling purpose and I resolved to do my best on it." He worked over the various phases of the subject and examined the question from the Southern as well as the Northern standpoint. On May 14, after anxiously waiting for the floor for many days, he delivered this speech and received much candid commendation in the newspapers and from various men for his views. He says, in his "Political Recollections": "I was flattered beyond measure and found my self-esteem germinating into new life under these fertilizing dews."

In this Thirty-first Congress he began the fight for the Homestead Policy, which he continued during his later years in Congress. The Swamp Land Act and the Act granting land bounties to the soldiers of the Mexican war, which opened the way for the monopoly of the public land by specialty, he earnestly opposed, and saw the evils and disadvantages which were not seen by others until the laws were applied. The Homestead Bill of the present time was initiated in that Thirty-first Congress, although it did not become a law for eleven years. Julian, at that time, delivered a speech,[1] advocating his Homestead Policy, which was not enthusiastically received, his thoughts being too advanced for the time. However, it did become of value in his next Congress. Things looked bad in Indiana at this time. Slavery seemed to be holding its own and the colored people were receiving no aid whatever. In compliance with the wishes of his anti-slavery friends and the wish to help in the cause of the day, he stood for re-election in 1851. The Whigs had completely changed their basis, standing for the compromise acts and the Fugitive Slave Law, which took away many of his votes. Also, the feeling that newspaper men were his enemies had influenced the people against him, which accomplished his defeat. Julian then turned his attention to the approaching Presidential election. He realized they must try for a final settlement of the slavery question. The Whig party in their platform joined the Democrats in their ideas on slavery. Julian, although the case appeared most degrading, looked upon it as an omen of success. The real enthusiasm of the campaign was in the Free Soil party, as the Whigs were disheartened and the Democratic forces were not working in harmony.

At the Free Soil convention which met in Pittsburgh, John P. Hale was nominated for President, and the services and reputation

1. Julian's Speeches on Political Questions, p. 50.

of Julian received honorable recognition in his nomination for Vice-President. He then "took the stump," and, with Cassius M. Clay, canvassed Lewis, Bracken, and Mason counties, in Kentucky. Their first meeting, near Maysville, was a success, having a sympathetic and orderly audience. In Maysville, the next day, although finding some opposition to their speaking in the court house, they finally gained the consent and spoke to a fine audience, even in some instances winning applause. At their next appointment, in Brookville, they met that rough and rabble element which formed the background of slavery. Although there was no audience, Julian and Clay both spoke and considered themselves lucky to get off without being mobbed. This closed their work in Kentucky and Julian returned across the line. During this campaign, he also delivered a speech in Cincinnati on the "Strength and Weakness of the Slave Power," which had an exceptional character as a political speech. He arraigned both Whigs and Democrats as allies of slavery and discussed the relation of church and slavery and the morality of political action. Hale only succeeded in getting one-twentieth of the votes. This was rather discouraging to Julian, but he saw the immense odds against which they had to work and was somewhat encouraged at the pitiful annihilation of the Whigs. Now there was more chance of placing party against party, which to Julian seemed to be the only way to win.

During the next year or two Julian was actively engaged in forming a new party. From the remains of the Whig party, the Know-Nothing party, and the Free Soil party, they had hopes of building up a strong Republican party. The Know-Nothing party had become very popular about that time, but Julian opposed it with all his might. His speech on that subject, which was published in the "National Era," is reckoned by many as the ablest argument against that strange political fanaticism. He was the only political leader in the West to oppose them. Many of his old Free Soil brethren went over to the new party, and he says, in his "Political Recollection": "At one time I think I had less than a dozen political friends in the State, and I could see in the glad smiles which lighted up the faces of my old-time enemies that they considered me beyond resurrection." But Julian was a fighting man and was in his element in the midst of a political fight. He never gave up and firmly hoped that in the end the truth would be vindicated, although he did not dream that in less than twenty years he would be the recognized leader of his enemies. He had no sympathy with the new party, the Know-Nothings. After much

work, however, the fragments of the anti-slavery parties were united enough to make an attempt to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President for the campaign of 1856. At the National convention which met in Pittsburgh, Feb. 22, Julian was elected chairman and had the honor of reporting the plan of action through which the new party took life.

In this never-to-be-forgotten campaign both parties reached "white-heat." Julian says concerning it, in his "Political Recollections": "To me the memory of this first great national struggle for liberty is a delight, as the part I played in it was a real jubilee of the heart. I was welcomed by the Republican masses everywhere, and the fact was gratifying to me as it proved mortifying to the party chiefs who a little before had found such comfort in the assurance that henceforth they were rid of me." Although Julian's party was defeated he was not discouraged, because he did not hope for success at first. The Republican movement had made great gains and could not go backwards, and great things were predicted for its future. In 1860, Julian's honest, daring, and unrelenting character, commended to him the respect and confidence of the people, and by a signal trumph over every conceivable form and combination of personal and political jealousy, he was nominated, by vote, to Congress, with an overwhelming majority. He remained in Congress for the ten succeeding years, and these years were some of the most trying in the history of the Nation. During those years of war and reconstruction the tasks of Congress were unequaled in their importance and could not have been discharged so satisfactorily had it not been for men like Julian. He was appointed on the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, which pleased him very much, because it gave him an opportunity to learn something of its internal policies and movements. He was active on this committee and did not hestitate to criticise President Lincoln and the Generals for their delay in acting. This committee was deemed by many as useless and a bother, but after the war, in its first report, which consisted of eight huge volumes, any fair-minded man could not deny that the policy it originated finally saved the country.

During his entire term in Congress he was a member of the Committee on Public Lands and for eight years was chairman. This aided him in perfecting and carrying through Congress one of his pet policies, the Homestead Law. He believed in free men, free soil, and free homes for free men. He had acquired a better knowledge of public land systems, probably, than any other man,

to it by an article by Miss Harriet Martineau, in which she pithily stated the substance of all that has since been said respecting the logic of woman's right to the ballot, and Julian says, "Finding myself unable to answer it, I accepted it."

The rich mineral lands of the United States also received a share of his attention. He objected to their being reserved from sale and deprecated the system of leaving them or the policy of abandoning them to settlers without law, but advocated selling these mineral lands as any other lands, in order to help raise the enormous war debt, in which the country was swamped at that time. The Government had had no policy whatever in dealing with the great depositories of wealth and had been gaining no revenue, except for a trifling amount on the bullion. Julian placed a bill before the House providing for the survey and sale of these lands in fee, thinking it the best and only method of promoting security of titles, permanent settlements, and thorough development. Although the bill fully protected all in their right of exploration and discovery, and carefully guarded against any interference with vested rights, it was bitterly opposed by some who thought that it contemplated a sweeping confiscation of all their claims. There was much discussion concerning this bill and it was finally lost. But to Julian is due the awakening of interest and the beginning of the reform in legislation concerning the rich mineral lands; and although at the time his bill was defeated, the reforms which he advocated have been partially carried out since.

Julian did valuable work as a member of the Committee on Public Lands in opposing the policy of Military Land Bounties. It was proposed, as was done at the close of the Mexican war, that soldiers of the Civil war be awarded a land bounty for their service. Julian saw the consequences of this policy before and prepared a report denouncing the scheme. He saw that it would be in direct opposition to the purpose of the Homestead Bill, which he had labored so hard to have passed. The report showed that more than one-third of the public domain would be necessary to supply land bounties and that it would cover nearly all that was fit for agriculture; that speculation was bound to follow and would mean the overthrow of the Homestead policy. This report was accompanied by a bill providing a bounty in money. This satisfied the appeals of the soldiers and, although it failed to be passed, it was the means by which Julian saved the public domain from ruin. Julian was a friend of the working people and did all he could to better their condition. The interest of labor and the resumption of specie

payments were earnestly plead by him. He introduced a bill providing for an eight-hour working day in the navy yards. This was the beginning of the eight hour agitation.

Although he was not a believer in Free Trade, he thought the tariff system of his time was simply legalized robbery of the people, and especially of the laboring poor. He thought the tariff question would become as great a problem as the slavery question, and a reform in it was paramount in importance. Of all the schemes of reform, he considered the co-operation or profit-sharing scheme the best. It takes the poor into friendly partnership and makes their cause and that of the capitalist one. On the question of temperance he also had decided opinions. He believed that legislative moves to destroy the saloon never would help, but the uplifting of the masses, the removal of poverty and want, and the multiplication of well-ordered Christian homes would be the only solution. After ten years of faithful and effective work in Congress, in the campaign of 1870, the forces against him were so well managed that he was defeated. For several campaigns prior to this he was at variance with some of the political leaders in Indiana, on account of his radical views on the subject of right and toward the Homestead Bill. These men had tried various methods to defeat him, which they finally did by gerrymandering the State.

Soon after this Julian changed his position and became a Liberal Republican and later drifted into the Democratic party. Some of his enemies have said that he changed politics when he was beaten, but many who were against him have abandoned these views. During his last session in Congress he had acquired an intense contempt for President Grant, which he was not able to overcome, and had fully made up his mind never under any circumstances to support him again. Julian was a staunch believer and earnest advocate of Civil Service reform, and he would not fall down in his convictions to support a man like Grant, who employed the whole power and patronage of his high office to secure re-election, by throwing out of office honest and efficient men to put men in office in order to pay them off for political favors in worldly gifts. Julian hated to withdraw from his party, but he never acted contrary to his own convictions, and he felt as if he could not again stand by Grant, who seemed to be the inevitable candidate for the Presidency. He says, in his "Political Recollections": "If it had been morally possible, I would have supported him gladly. If I had consented to my own selfish ambition, I would have chosen a different course, since I knew by painful experience the cost of

party desertion. I made it with many keen regrets, for the history of the party had been honorable and glorious and I had shared in its achievements." He said the Republican party never was a real party with one creed, but a bunch of men, with various creeds, joined together for one end. After the war the party continued to exist and the leaders treated it as a perpetual institution, "outside of which no good exists and in which all good originates." The practical results of this party idolatry make up one of the worst chapters in the history of party corruption and misrule. The Republican party had become simply a political machine, and "had been driven to the lowest depths by its long-indulged greed for power" and "the devilish infatuation that its good behavior during the war could justify its career of lawlessness and crime." The management of the Civil Service, which they had so strongly advocated, was an utter mockery of political decency. Julian thought the last card had been played and that the party was bound to fall.

He then attended the Liberal Republican convention, where he was delighted to meet many of his old Free Soil friends in this party whose chief aim was to rebuke the scandals of President Grant. During the campaign which followed Julian made many speeches and presented the issues from the Liberal standpoint. The treatment which was tendered him on these occasions was not even equaled by the campaign of 1856. The Liberals were considered as rebels and treated as such, eggs and even firearms being much in evidence at the meetings. But Julian was not unprepared for it and met the attacks with argument and invectives. He was charged with "changing sides, but Julian contended that he had not changed sides," but the "sides had changed," and it was now a question of an entirely different nature, that of denouncing "knaves and trades which used the Republican party as the instrument of wholesale schemes of jobbery and pelf."

After this campaign of 1872 he withdrew from political activity. He again changed his politics after the Liberal party died out and remained a Democrat the remainder of his life. Although not taking a decided stand as a Democrat, like most all Abolitionists he acted with that party against the white slavery of government. His last public office was surveyor-general of New Mexico, which he occupied from 1885 to 1889, and did much valuable service in exposing the Spanish land grant fraud. After leaving New Mexico he returned to his home, "Village Nector," in Irvington, where he remained until his death, July 8, 1899, due to a stroke of paralysis. In his private life Julian had the universal reputation of being most

exemplary. His private character was beyond reproach. At the time it was said that probably no man had truer and more devoted friends and admirers or more relentless foes. He was eminently western in his character; frank and fearless; prompt and decided; loyal in his attachments, but ready to thrust at friends or foes, if they placed themselves in a position to impede the progress of Truth and Freedom. No man was ever more inflexible in purpose or more positive. He possessed, however, a kindness of heart, strong social qualities, and the faculty of making good friends. He was a laborious student and, although without the graces of oratory, he was an impressive and effective speaker. He had a very extensive library at his home in Irvington and took a great delight in literature during his later life. After his active political life he wrote many articles for magazines on current topics, and two books, one, "The Life of Joshua Giddings," and the other his own "Political Recollections." His speeches all breathe the spirit of freedom and have the merit of useful thought, methodical argument, and a remarkably clear and forcible diction. Grace Greenwood says of his speech on Public Lands: "This was a strong, fearless, and eloquent expression of a liberty-loving and philanthropic spirit. It seems vivid with the strength of a great purpose, vivid with a vital truth, a moral life, and blood beating through it warm and generous."

As a politician he was determined, vindictive, intensely radical, and appeared to contemporaries absolutely lacking in political sagacity. Yet his judgment on the conditions and the needs of the times was almost unerring. In campaigns he was tireless in his efforts, profound in his arguments, and possessed the soul of a reformer. Some writer said, in the Indianapolis Journal, of Saturday, July 8, 1899: "Julian had no sympathy for conservatism, was a born radical, and had inherited an aversion to wrong in all its forms through the long line of Quaker ancestors." He loved a life of activity and fretted under enforced idleness. He dreaded the loss of his faculties, being a lover of all beauties and phenomena of nature. His courage was remarkable, as was shown in his various campaigns, and especially in the campaign of 1856, on his trip through the wild country of Kentucky, and also at Terre Haute, where, after hearing Robinson, the Free Soil candidate, had been mobbed, fearlessly made an engagement to speak.

He was a great admirer of certain men, such as John Quincy Adams, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, and Henry Clay. But no man ever had more bitter enemies, among whom was Oliver P.

Morton. Although from the same town, both members of the "Dark Lyceum," and always more or less connected, there was no friendship whatever between them. They disagreed on all political questions, and partly from this and also jealousy, their enmity was bitter. He was not a friend to Sol Meredith, another Wayne county statesman, and a great disturbance arose when Julian made the charge against Meredith that he was removed from command of the Western District of Kentucky on account of sympathy with traitors and the failure to protect Union men. Julian says of him: "He is incapable of a noble action and utterly devoid of honorable principles." There was no half-way feeling by Julian. In this, as in everything else, his convictions were firm—he either liked or hated intensely. Finally, George W. Julian was a great statesman and should receive due credit. Although he had many enemies, on account of his stern and vindictive manner, these forceful characteristics brought him many rewards in Congress. One writer said of him, in the Indianapolis Sentinel of July 8, 1899: "If a discriminating history of the past half century were written, Julian would probably be the most foremost statesman Indiana has produced—as a statesman measured by measures and laws he succeeded in getting passed which have had untold success." Thus his value to his country must not be forgotten, and the honor and fame which he achieved unaided should give the men of to-day courage.

CHAPTER XIV.

MILITARY MATTERS.

RICHMOND DURING THE CIVIL WAR—MORGAN'S RAID—UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION—HEART-RENDING SCENES IN OUR HOSPITALS—THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

RICHMOND DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

As the campaign of 1860 progressed the feeling between the two parties grew more strained and bitter, and Lincoln's election only made matters worse. The Democrats of the North who had taken the part of the South were very bold, believing that when the crisis came the South would, as she always had done, have her own way. The "Union men," as they were then called, anticipated the firing upon Fort Sumter, and waited with dread and fear the opening of hostilities. In the forenoon of Monday, April 15, 1861, the news came of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Of course, the reports were exaggerated and the streets were soon crowded. It created a rapid and radical change in public sentiment. When the populace heard that the Stars and Stripes, which had never been lowered before in their history, had been struck by insurgent citizens, a very great many who had sympathized with the South before and defended her, came out squarely for the Union and said that the Southern States were no longer "erring sisters" to be humored, but rebellious subjects to be conquered by arms. That night a mass meeting of the citizens was held at the corner of what are now Main and Sixth streets. Trouble was expected by everyone and a local military company was present as a guard to the speaker's stand. It turned out that it was not needed. Rev. J. T. W. McMullen, a Methodist minister, opened the meeting with prayer. John A. Bridgeland, a Bell-Everett man in 1860, was chosen chairman, and the meeting was addressed by William A. Bickle, William P. Benton, John Yaryan, John C. Whitridge, John A. Bridgeland, and John H. Popp. Great enthusiasm was aroused

and Judge Benton announced his intention of raising a company of soldiers. The next day Governor Morton issued a call for six regiments of three months' men, and Benton carried out his intention by opening a roster in John S. Lyle's office and putting his name down first. In less than twenty-four hours he had a full company and forty-five on a second company. On the morning of the 18th they marched to the depot about sunrise, accompanied by the entire city, boarded the train for Indianapolis, and Richmond's company was the first body of Indiana soldiers to reach Indianapolis in response to the Government's call for troops, in 1861.

Throughout the war Richmond responded nobly and quickly to the demand for troops. A camp was established here, "Camp Wayne," at which soldiers were quartered nearly all the time. Richmond companies were in the Sixteenth, Eighth, Thirty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Sixty-ninth, Eighty-fourth, and One Hundred and Twenty-fourth infantry regiments, the Nineteenth battery and Fifth cavalry. Nearly the whole of these regiments were raised in Wayne and adjoining counties.

MORGAN'S RAID.

At 10 o'clock on Thursday night, July 9, 1863, dispatches were received from Governor Morton, stating that General Morgan had entered the State at Brandenburg with 8,000 men and was moving toward Corydon. He called for all able-bodied citizens to come to Indianapolis immediately, with or without arms. The bells of the town were rung, the people awakened, and the news spread. The militia companies that had been drilling began preparations to leave the next morning, and at 5 o'clock two companies under John C. Davis and Daniel B. Crawford left for Indianapolis. After staying there for twenty-four hours and organizing, they left for Cincinnati, passing through Richmond in the early morning of July 14. However, as it was not known in advance of this movement, no one saw them go through. They went to Cincinnati and remained there until the danger of "Morgan's Raid" was over, when they returned to Indianapolis, were mustered out and returned to Richmond, after just a week's absence. In this number of volunteers age did not count, and some of the old inhabitants were seen in the ranks as well as some of the younger men.

The news of the fall of Richmond, Va., was received here with great rejoicing, which was far surpassed a week later with the receipt of the news of Lee's surrender. On this occasion the city

PRIZE LOAD OF WOOD FOR SOLDIERS' FAMILIES.

(Delivered in Richmond, Winter of 1863.)

went wild. Everything movable was, by common consent, burned, even to the awnings of the stores; business houses were closed, the city turned out *en masse*, the country folk flocked in, and everything was enthusiasm gone wild. It was only a short time, however, until the business houses were closed again, but not for enthusiasm. When the news of the terrible national loss that Lincoln was assassinated was received in Richmond, all business was suspended, the stores and shops were closed, flags were put at half-mast, and public buildings, business houses, and private dwellings were draped in mourning. On the following forenoon a meeting of the citizens was called at the Starr Hall for the purpose of adopting resolutions. Lewis Burk was selected chairman and Lewis D. Stubbs, secretary. Remarks were made by Reverend Chapman, Reverend Atem, Colonel Bickle, and John Popp. A committee, consisting of Jesse P. Siddall, George Holland, Daniel B. Crawford, John Yaryan, and William G. Scott, was appointed to draft resolutions for the occasion, which was done. To these, Colonel Bickle offered additional resolutions, expressing sympathy for the family of Lincoln. L. D. Stubbs offered a resolution, pledging the support of the community to the next President, Andrew Johnson, and Milton Hollingsworth offered resolutions to the effect that the assassination was the work of the slave power and vanquished South and that no mercy should be extended to them. All of these additional resolutions were adopted.

On Saturday, April 29, at 11 o'clock at night, a funeral escort train from Indianapolis arrived here with all the State officials and many army officers. Here it was joined by many citizens and proceeded to the State line, where it waited for the train bearing the body of the martyred President. The funeral cortege reached Richmond at 2 o'clock, Sunday morning, when all the bells in town commenced to toll. Fully 10,000 people were in the vicinity of the depot. At Fort Wayne avenue, spanning the tracks, was an immense arch heavily draped, relieved by the national colors. Upon this arch, about eighteen feet above the ground, was a casket, by which stood a young lady impersonating the Genius of Liberty, weeping, accompanied by mourners from the army and navy. As the train stopped a large wreath from the Richmond ladies, with the inscription, "A Nation Mourns," was sent to the car. The entire train, cars, seats, curtains, blinds, all was of the deepest black, relieved here and there with silver rosettes. After a half hour's stay, the cortege left, while the bells still tolled and the Richmond band played a dirge. It is said that the entire assembly was in tears—the most solemn scene ever witnessed in this city

THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION.

The United States Sanitary Commission was established in 1861 and continued in active operation until the close of the war. But there was no concert of action in Indiana before the organization of the State Sanitary Commission. The care of soldiers' families dates from the first enlistment. On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 troops, and on the same day Governor Morton pledged the services of 10,000 men from Indiana. In response to the call a full company marched to the Richmond depot on the morning of April 18, to take the train for Indianapolis, a large concourse of friends assembling to bid them God-speed! Jesse P. Siddall offered a resolution, assuring the men that their families would be provided for until their return. This resolution was endorsed unanimously and a public meeting was called by Mayor Finley to provide means to carry out the promise. At this meeting the city council was instructed to place at the disposal of a committee the funds necessary for immediate use, and the county commissioners were requested to authorize the township trustee, William Parry, to issue orders for groceries, etc. Farmers living near the city contributed liberally of wood and provisions, a room in the city building being occupied by the distributing committee. This committee visited each soldier's family to ascertain the help needed.

A second company was ready for service on the 23d, but owing to the crowded condition of Camp Morton the company was ordered into camp at the old fair ground, south of the city. This was known as "Camp Wayne." It occupied the addition to the city now called Beallview. The State could not provide for the troops as rapidly as they were recruited and Camp Wayne had to be provisioned and supplied with bedding, by voluntary contribution. This was soon done, for these soldiers were our fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers. Here the men were drilled and learned the discipline and restraints of army life. Civilians were admitted to the camp at dress parade, and throngs of friends went with baskets filled with dainties, and with cheerful faces which belied their heavy hearts. This company formed the nucleus of the Sixteenth Indiana infantry, which was afterwards transferred to the Federal Government for one year's service.

Sewing circles connected with the churches made needle books and furnished them with needles, thread, buttons, scissors, and thimbles. Many men had to learn the use of a thimble and find the

holes in a button, which "seemed so easy when mother did it." Each soldier was presented with a Bible.

It was soon evident that a hospital was needed, as sick men could not be cared for properly in camp. A house was rented on South Marion, now Sixth street, and this was furnished by the ladies of the city, Dr. William King in charge. He was succeeded by Dr. J. S. Montieth, who wrote to the Palladium, in October, 1862: "We are much indebted to the ladies of Richmond for their untiring efforts to render those under our care comfortable. All honor to the ladies of Richmond."

Soon tales of suffering began to appear in the newspapers. They wounded our hearts but urged us on to greater efforts.

HEART-RENDING SCENES IN OUR HOSPITALS.

Several ladies visited a military hospital with refreshments for the sick and wounded men. Ice cream was handed around and the poor invalids eagerly partook of it. In one corner of the room, however, the spoon and saucer had not been touched. A young boy lay on the bed near the table, his features pale, his eyelids drooping. A lady gently fanning his forehead, whispered softly: "The poor little fellow is asleep; we must not disturb him." "No ma'am, I am not asleep," he answered. It was a silvery voice, full of sweetness, of innocence, and boyhood. "Well, my little fellow," continued the lady, as she drew nearer, " are you not fond of ice cream?" "Very much so," replied he. "Didn't you see me place this on your table?" asked the lady, reaching for the plate of cream. "Oh, yes!" he answered tremulously, "but I shut my eyes and cried to myself." "Cried, my child. Why, what made you cry, my dear?" "Oh, madam, if you will pull down the quilt a little you will see!" The lady did so and found that he had no arms. Both of them had been lost in battle.

After the battle of Fort Donelson, Feb. 16, 1862, wounded men, both Union and Confederate, were sent to Indianapolis and Cincinnati, where hospital work began in earnest. Miss Sarah F. Mendenhall, returning from a visit in Cincinnati, reported that an "aid society" had been formed there for the purpose of collecting and making bedding, shirts, drawers, etc.; and knitting yarn socks; preparing lint and rolling bandages; and that arrangements had been made for shipping supplies to the field hospitals. This definite information resulted in the organization of a society in Richmond, Jan. 29, 1862, called the "Soldiers' Relief Circle." The officers

were as follows: President, Mrs. L. J. Seymour; secretary, Mrs. S. A. Wrigley; treasurer, Mrs. Julia H. Finley. This organization continued actively at work during the war. The president and secretary were changed several times, but the treasurer held her office continuously.

A committee of ladies visited Cincinnati to learn further particulars, the railroad offering free transportation for agents and goods. Mark E. Reeves, who was living at Cincinnati and was active in the work there, met the committee at the depot and took them to the rooms of the "Aid Society" and to the hospital, where they had their first experience with wounded men.

The first shipment from the Relief Circle was to Cincinnati, March 5, 1862. It consisted of thirty-five large boxes of hospital supplies. In acknowledgment the secretary wrote: "Since our organization we have received no donation to compare with yours and we feel very much encouraged. It enabled us to send liberal supplies to all that are in need. This week we have sent from 150 to 200 boxes to our army in Tennessee."

Private soldiers wrote the most appreciative letters to the local papers and to friends, thanking the ladies for their interest and kind remembrance of the soldiers in field and hospital. The clean bedding, the canned fruit, and the reading matter sent them encouraged their hearts and strengthened their heroism and courage when they left the hospital for the battlefield.

At a meeting in Starr Hall April 10, 1862, a Sanitary Committee was organized for Wayne township, with Lewis Burk as president. The other members were: John M. Paxon, John W. Grubbs, John M. Gaar, John Roberts, John P. Smith, Stephen R. Wiggins, and C. C. Beeler. Five hundred dollars were subscribed immediately. We read in a printed report of May 28: "The whole cash receipts to date is $1,166.66. Also large quantities of supplies which were overhauled and packed, shipments being made to Nashville, Tenn., Pittsburgh Landing, and to the Sanitary Commission at Indianapolis." This committee furnished the Relief Circle with $375 worth of material, which was returned to them in the form of bedding, shirts, drawers, socks, etc. So many emergencies arose calling for ready money that the committee declined to furnish more material, and the ladies were thrown on their own resources. Voluntary contributions continued to be sent to the Relief Circle, and dinners, suppers, concerts, lectures, and fairs were resorted to; from the receipts the work was kept moving. This would not have been possible but for the host of faithful men who were ever

ready to buy or sell tickets, furnish halls with tables and chairs, and in every way possible take upon themselves the heavy work of preparation. One dinner netted $500 and a mush and milk supper was a close second. It was truly a common cause in which hundreds of men and women joined in making every effort a success. On April 12, 1862, the society tendered a vote of thanks to the "Estelle Band," "Mitchell's Cornet Band," Professor Kuchman, and others, for the proceeds of a concert amounting to $69. Also to George P. Brown for $45, the returns from a school exhibition. "The Armenians," a local organization, gave two concerts which netted $112.02.

A large majority of these laborers have gone to their reward, and the few that remain realize that it is impossible to give the present generation any adequate conception of the anxiety and sorrow, the labor and despair of those gloomy days.

The local papers, notably "The Palladium," were ever ready to publish calls for material, to give notice of entertainments, and offer words of cheer and appreciation to those engaged in the work.

Shipments were made rapidly; one to Louisville, Ky., of concentrated chicken, was highly appreciated. Many receipts are on file. This one from Nashville, Tenn., March 28, 1862, is worth preserving: "To the Ladies' Soldiers' Relief Circle: Please find enclosed receipt for the five boxes hospital supplies consigned to my care. Those lemons and white sugar came in good play. I made up quite a lot of lemonade for the poor fellows and gave them to sup; how gratefully they would look up in my face and exclaim: 'Thank God; the ladies of our State have not forgotten us yet.' One poor fellow in the last stages of typhoid fever asked for a drink of water. I said, 'I have some lemonade, made of lemons sent by the ladies of Richmond, for the sick.' He said, 'Give me to drink of it before I die! Tell the ladies of Richmond I love them, and that I die in defense of my country!' These were the last words that he spoke. It would have done you good to see how eager they were to get the papers and magazines, and I will say to the ladies of this society, if you could know the rejoicing and thanks for such supplies you would feel paid a thousand times for your labor and kindness." Signed, Capt. George Hoover.

Woolen socks were in great demand and many old ladies knit constantly from 1862 to 1865. Some of them could knit a pair of socks in a day. It would be interesting to know how many they knit during the war. A note was often attached to them as fol-

lows: "These socks were knit by a little girl of five years, and she will knit some more, for mother says it will help some poor soldier." Or this—"An Old Lady's Tribute:" Among the other articles received by the Washington Sanitary Commission lately, was a good and patriotic old lady's tribute, to be laid on the altar of her country, bearing the inscription: "These socks were spun and knit by Zernah Clapp, ninety-six years old, whose hands in youth were engaged in moulding bullets in the Revolutionary War. Keep the toes of these socks toward the Rebels."

On a home-spun blanket, worn, but white and clean, was pinned a bit of paper which said: "This blanket was carried by Milly Aldrich, who is ninety-three years old, one and a half miles to be given to some soldier." Another: "This blanket was used by a soldier in the War of 1812; may it keep some soldier warm in this war against traitors."

That much money was required to carry on the work the following prices will show: Jan. 12, 1862, muslin sold for fourteen cents; in 1864, it was hard to get for fifty-five cents; sheeting, in 1863, was eighty-five cents; in 1864 it was $1.25; in 1862 spool cotton could be had for sixty cents per dozen, but in 1864 it brought $1.50, and fears were entertained that the supplies would soon be exhausted. Tape sold for $1.15 per dozen. Stocking yarn was $2 per pound. Cotton batting rose to forty cents per pound and then disappeared from the market, flax batting being substituted for filling comforts. To the credit of our merchants be it said that they almost invariably sold goods to the Relief Circle at wholesale prices. The sanitary work made frequent demands on the public for four years of business depression, ending in an almost hopeless outlook for the future.

No class in the community responded more nobly than the farmers. They came from every direction, with wagons loaded with wood and provisions, and this not once, but many, many times. One train of wagons was nearly a mile long. Another donation to the Sanitary fund, of fresh beef, poultry, and vegetables, sold for $1,300. It must be remembered that wood was the only fuel used at that time. Seldom did a farmer come into the city without a load of wood, a bag of potatoes, or some other donation to the Sanitary work, or for soldier's families.

In the spring of 1864 the governors of the Northern States offered the General Government large bodies of troops to take the places of veteran forces guarding the rear, in order to allow the latter to go to the front. These troops were enlisted for 100 days.

Ladies offered to take the places of clerks and hold their positions until their return, and a company left Richmond, May 11, under Capt. William R. Hunt.

For the greatest number of troops enlisted during the preceding years and the largest amount of Sanitary supplies forwarded, Wayne county received a prize banner presented by the State officers and the State Sanitary Commission. The president of the Commission wrote: "None have done better than the ladies of Richmond, and few as well."

"What We Have Given," is the title of a little volume prepared in 1864 by a Mr. Hartley. It is the most extraordinary report ever written. "From official and other authentic sources a faithful report has been made of contributions offered by the people (of the United States) to the support of their armies and the solace of the sufferers by the war. The total contributions (reported) from States, counties, and towns, for the aid and relief of soldiers and their families, has amounted to over one hundred and eighty-seven millions of dollars ($187,209,608.62). By associations and individuals, over twenty-four millions ($24,044,865.96). This is exclusive of the expenditures of the Government. (Some items that I have omitted raise the total to $212,274,259.49.) Nothing like this has ever been achieved, or even attempted, in any other country, in any age."

It is an imperishable record of the patriotism of a free people, to be handed down to posterity for their emulation—but the half has not been told—it can never be known until read in the light of Eternity.

"Oh, remember the price that was paid—
The blood of the brave and true—
And you never can suffer to fade
The laurels that cover the Blue."

THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR.

With an enviable record in the Civil war, inculcated in the minds of the following generation by the annual tribute of reverence to the patriotic dead, Wayne county and Richmond, as a natural inheritance, had a part, though insignificant, in the Spanish-American war. Early in the year 1898, when the rumors of war could no longer be denied, William Smith, Paul Comstock and Elmer E. Kimmel, the first and last named not being natives of Richmond, began the organization of an artillery company for service in the prospective conflict. Mass meetings were held, at which prominent citizens endorsed the movement. There was no

lack of volunteers and, the weather being unsettled, a room known as Thistlethwaite's Hall, at the northwest corner of Main street and Fort Wayne avenue, was secured in which to instruct those who offered their services; a few weeks later South Fourth street became the drill ground. The declaration of war came, the National Guard of the State was mobilized at Indianapolis and mustered into service of the United States, but Richmond received no recognition.

Rumor had it that Indiana had furnished her quota of artillery, and on May 3, 1898, a meeting of the company was held at the Pythian Temple, at which time an infantry companay was organized and William Smith was elected captain, Paul Comstock, first liuetenant, and Elmer E. Kimmel, second lieutenant. Later these officers were commissioned and mustered in as elected at that meeting. On May 25, President McKinley issued his second call for troops and the Richmond company received assurance from Gov. James A. Mount that if Indiana needed more soldiers, Wayne county should have a chance to furnish some of them. Dr. James E. Taylor had made a careful examination of the men and the weeding-out process had begun. On June 24, Governor Mount sent telegraphic orders for the company to report to Dr. Jacob R. Weist for physical examination at once. Announcement had previously been made that when this order came the fact would be known by the blowing of shop whistles, and at 4 p. m. on that date the discordant but welcome sound, to those waiting, resounded over the city. The men, mostly shophands, left their work and hastened to the room just east of the Main street entrance of the Westcott Hotel, which had been provided by J. M. Westcott as a recruiting office. Here, amid great excitement and enthusiasm, they took the oath of allegiance, sworn to before Everett Lemon, a notary public. This was done in order to impress upon them the approach of a reality, although as a matter of fact the oath was binding only according to the dictates of the individual conscience; but this was not known at that time. As each man took the oath he was given his descriptive blank and was sent to the offices of Drs. J. R. and H. H. Weist. The physical examination continued over Saturday and Sunday. On Monday the company expected to go to Indianapolis, but waiting orders were received. Something had to be done; several of the men were from the country, and all had left their occupations. After a consultation between the officers and the city officials it was decided to take the men to Glen Miller Park for a temporary camp, and Camp Ostrander, so called

from the then mayor, received its name. A supply of hay made bedding in the pavilion; the Woman's Relief Corps, than which there is no better organization, provided the best meals the boys were to have for many long months. After four days of this life, spent largely in drilling, orders were received to report at Camp Mount, State Fair Grounds, Indianapolis, on July 1, and on that day the organization, which was to become Company F of the One Hundred and Sixty-first Indiana infantry, 106 strong, marched from Glen Miller to the railway station, amid such a show of patriotism and friendly and kindly interest as it is rarely one's pleasure to meet. Admiral Dewey had proven himself, but Santiago was yet to be won, and Cervera's fleet was still afloat. While at Camp Ostrander, George J. Knollenberg presented the company with a regulation silk post flag, which was carried by the men at their departure.

At Camp Mount another physical examination was made and, with but few exceptions, the men were accepted. The company was mustered into the United States service as Company F of the One Hundred and Sixty-first Indiana infantry, on July 12, and became the color company of the regiment. From that time on the history of the company is but the history of the regiment. The One Hundred and Sixty-first Indiana was commanded by Col. Winfield T. Durbin, since governor of the State, who had served in the Civil war; the lieutenant-colonel, Victor M. Backus, had been a member of the famous Wilder brigade; the senior major, commanding the Second battalion, to which Company F was assigned, was Harold C. Megrew, well known in Richmond a few years ago as the proprietor of the Huntington Hotel; Thompson Starr, of Richmond, though not a member of Company F, was regimental sergeant-major, the highest non-commissioned officer of the organization. Being uniformed and equipped, the regiment was assigned to the Seventh corps, being mobilized under the command of Maj.-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, at Camp Cuba Libre, near Jacksonville, Fla., at which station the organization arrived Aug. 14, 1898. It was not long until the hot days and cold nights played havoc with strong men—blood became thin and faces paled, even under the burning rays of the Southern sun. The deadly climate filled the hospitals, the funeral march sounded day after day through the pine forest, and finally the Indiana regiment began to furnish victims.

Company F lost one man at this camp, Denver Brown; Harry Kain, being sent home, died shortly after his arrival in Richmond.

The Seventh corps, or so much of it as was to see foreign service, was ordered to Savannah, Ga., arriving there Oct. 24, and although but a short distance away, there was a rapid building up of strength, health was restored, lost weight regained, and by Dec. 13 the men were in fine fettle. On the 13th the regiment, with detachments from other organizations, boarded the transport Mobile, since named the Sherman, and arrived in the ancient harbor of Havana, Cuba, on the 15th; and as those who, in their far Indiana homes, had read of the tragedy of the Maine steamed past the twisted and torn wreck, they felt indeed that the world was small. The following morning Lieutenant Comstock was landed with a detachment of twenty-five men, detailed from the various companies, with orders to proceed to the camp site for the regiment. After marching through the strange city and into the open country beyond, past the Spanish lines, the detachment reached its destination about 6 o'clock in the evening and bivouaced for the night. The regiment followed the next afternoon. The One Hundred and Sixty-first belonged to the Army of Occupation, and to say that the natives of the island received the representatives of the victorious Nation with open arms is no exaggeration, but on the contrary poorly expresses the demonstrations of joy and happiness on the part of those desperate, child-like people. It is probably true that history does not record like scenes as from day to day were enacted, as the various regiments landed at Havana and the sturdy American soldier, in his true blue, marched through the city.

The streets through which the Americans passed were covered with flowers, and the broad-soled brogan of Uncle Sam stamped its impress in a veritable bed of roses or kicked aside the long palm branches laid in honor of the new arrival. The rarest orchids lay at the feet of this friendly soldier or pelted his gray slouched hat, wreathes were thrown about the sun-burned necks of the men, and strands of flowers were festooned about the necks of the big American horses by the happy women and children.

The tropical sun beat strangely warm on the big fellows from the North, and frequent halts were made to rest them in the sudden and unaccustomed heat; and as they halted and as each time the regimental colors were brought to the Order, the women and children rushed to the flag and, kneeling in the dust, raised the fringe to their lips, while tears of joy ran down their cheeks. Routine began at once after the regiments were established in camp. This consisted of guard and provost duty between the Spanish troops on one side and the Cuban on the other. Probably

the most interesting affair in the history of the company and regiment was the evacuation of Havana by the Spanish forces.

Camp Columbia, the name given the camp of the Seventh corps, was about seven miles west of Havana, on the hills overlooking the blue waters of the Gulf of Mexico, and about one mile from the coast. At midnight of Dec. 31, 1898, orders were received by the company commanders to issue a day's rations and 150 rounds of ammunition, and to be ready to move at 6 o'clock in the morning. There were rumors of expected outbreaks from the house tops on the part of the Cubans during the evacuations; as the time approached this seemed less probable, and with twenty-five rounds to each man the regiment, at 6 o'clock a. m., began its part of the movement which was to land 10,000 men in Havana at 12 o'clock, to witness the birth of a new nation. Nature had not changed; she advanced her day as yesterday—the mist hung over the environs of the city and the hundreds of tents beyond. The sun searched out the lurking night and rose in grandeur over the hills and meadows, where all was orderly activity. Bugle calls resounded over a dozen hills, and out of the half-light came the sound of marching men, the pounding of horses hoofs—wheels hurried forward, the ready guns and long lines of blue appeared suddenly out of the mist and merged into one grand stream of adjusted power, which wended its way slowly to the coast, thence along the soft sandy road to Vedado, an aristocratic suburb of Havana, adjoining immediately on the west. At 12 o'clock the army rested on the edge of the city, in view of Morro Castle, across the harbor point, where the yellow and gold of Spain tugged at its accustomed halyards.

It was what would happen when the hour struck that caused the army to stand where it did—silent, ready, powerful. Thousands in gala attire waited for what they were not sure—their desires were but half formed and vague, for they were without analogies for comparison; they waited that somehow, somewhere, someone would bring the thing about—it was racial. There had been thousands of Spanish troops quartered in the forts or bivouaced on the roads and billetted in the villages. Where were the soldiers of the boy king? As the army rested, sweat-stained and weary, the first cannon boomed forth the death knell of Spain, from Cabana Fortress adjoining Morro. It was the beginning of the last salute to the Spanish colors. The saluting guns continued to flash and smoke and roar. As the last gun of the first twenty-one was fired, down fell the banner which for centuries, standing

for blood and gold, had proudly waved over the old fort. Like a rocket, so swiftly did it move, up soared the American, red, white, and blue, and twenty-one loyal guns roared a welcome to Liberty. As the glorious flag tried its new fastenings the regiment moved around the point into a little street. If there had been any question in the mind of any American soldier as to his reception by the Cubans on that day, it was answered at once. Bells rang out from every tower, and songs and shouting burst from every throat. The streets and flat house tops were massed with people, not to send bullets or stones, but to shower the dusty blue with friendly greetings. They threw their own new flag,—which for the first time had the freedom of the city,—candies and sweetmeats, cigars and cigarettes—anything they had to offer. The bugles commanded "Forward," the troops swung out of the street into the Prado—the main thoroughfare of Havana—which, throughout its whole length, was a mass of people, flags and flowers.

The regiments marched past the Inglaterra Hotel in columns of platoons and were reviewed by Generals Brook and Lee. Near them stood Castellanos, the last and most humane of Spain's captains-general, and his staff. While yet the troops were filing by, a Spanish girl appeared upon the balcony near Castellanos, displaying the Spanish flag. "*Viva Espania! Viva el Capitan Generale!*" she cried. In an instant the General and his staff were in tears—Spain no longer lived in the Antilles. In Reina street another halt was made and the men did away with their rations in short order. There was still much to be done and many miles to march—the sun was low over the water when the day's work was ended. On Jan. 9, Lieutenant Comstock was placed in command of the company, owing to the sickness of Captain Smith, who was confined in the Second Division hospital. Early in February smallpox attacked the regiment and several men succumbed, but the magnificent work of the surgeons limited it to a few.

Charles F. Trimble died on Feb. 17. He was the third and last man to die, and he was buried in Cuba. The work of the regiment continued much the same until March 29, when at 3 o'clock a. m. it broke camp preparatory to returning home. At 6 o'clock it marched past the headquarters of the corps commander. General Lee had risen early to greet the departing troops and the regiment, drawn up in line of masses, presented arms, but the old commander could only salute, and with tears streaming down his cheeks turned about and re-entered his tent. Once on the road to Havana the regimental band was allowed to play, "Home,

Sweet Home," a thing never permitted while in camp. It was rather hard on those who had not yet received orders to return to the States, but, with the same quality of grit which always characterizes the American soldier, unashamed of their tears, they lined the road and cheered these homeward bound. By an unprecedented record in embarking, the regiment on board the transport Logan cleared the harbor at 4 o'clock p. m., and was spoken at Tybee, at the mouth of the Savannah river, on the night of the 31st, thus escaping a five-days' quarantine on the Dry Tortugas, the quarantine going into effect April 1. The regiment was detained a few hours at Fort Pulaski, in the Savannah river, where the equipage was fumigated, and was then lightered up the river to the old site of Camp Onward.

Lieutenant Comstock was commissioned captain, E. E. Kimmel, first lieutenant, and William H. Drapier, Jr., of Indianapolis, second lieutenant, on April 1, 1899. The regiment was mustered out of the service, April 30, 1899, and Company F reached Richmond, May 3, after an absence of about ten months. A great concourse of people, relatives and friends of the men, the local Grand Army of the Republic Post, the Sons of Veterans, and the High School Cadets, met the company and escorted it to the corner of Fifth and Main streets, where a short address of welcome was delivered by Hon. Henry C. Fox, judge of the Wayne Circuit Court. In the afternoon of the same day another welcome was held at the court house and at night a feast was spread in the Gaar Building, on West Main street. The day and night passed, the uniforms disappeared, and the men dropped back into civil life. All through the service Company F received substantial assurance that the hearts of those at home were with them. The Woman's Relief Corps and the Penny Club helped in many ways by sending delicacies and fresh linen for the sick at Jacksonville. The members of the company had opportunity of observing many people and things of interest. General Gomez, the commander-in-chief of the Cuban army, was a well known figure to them; and Admiral Sampson, Generals Alger, Brook, Ludlow and Chaffee, were well known to them. Castellanos they saw, and General Lee they admired and respected to a man.

It being an honor to serve one's country at any time, it is a source of satisfaction to those who went from Richmond and Wayne county to have served in the Spanish-American war, and it is probably of some moment to the locality that it had representatives in that bit of National history.

CHAPTER XV.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF WAYNE COUNTY.

ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION—FIRST SETTLERS IN THE DIFFERENT TOWNSHIPS—PREDOMINANT CHARACTERISTICS—SOCIAL PROBLEMS—POPULATION OF VILLAGES IN 1910—SLAVE QUESTION—CARE OF SOLDIERS—CARING FOR THE POOR—SECRET SOCIETIES—CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—SOCIAL CLUBS—THE LIQUOR QUESTION.

EARLY SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The study of social conditions of any community must necessarily be accompanied by some difficulties. It is a study of facts, more or less hidden. Tendencies rather than events form the substance of such a study. It is necessary to consider, not only the concrete organizations which are the embodiment of the social efforts of the people, but also the causes which produce these social efforts. This demands a consideration of the stock from which the people of the community have sprung and their characteristics. The term "social" has a wide variety of meaning. In its broadest sense it may mean the relations of the people in all their various inter-relations and activities. In its narrowest sense it may mean the relations of a certain class, commonly known as polite society. In fact, no very definite ideas are conveyed to the average mind by the term "society." Thus, to determinate what should be treated in a social study of a given community is one of the difficulties which confronts a writer on this subject. The field is practically unlimited. It is, however, the object of this sketch to consider the facts and tendencies which show the relations and temper of the people outside the sterner and more earnest paths of business, politics, and religion.

There can be no absolute separation between the various lines of activity pursued by the people of a community. They are all interwoven in that wonderful fabric of civilization. Almost every event has a social, a political, an educational, and an industrial

meaning. With this understanding, we will undertake a study of the early social conditions of Wayne county. To begin where the historians of this section usually begin, we will consider the social effects of the organic law under which the country was settled—the Ordinance of 1787. In this we find two provisions which have left their impress upon the social history of Wayne county. The first was the exclusion of slavery north of the Ohio river. This encouraged the settlement of people opposed to slavery, and thus pledged Wayne county as free soil. The second provision was the encouragement of education, by setting apart one section in every township for the support of schools. The effect of this was to pledge the inhabitants to the maintenance of schools and to set before them the value of education. The social effect of education in a community is immeasurably great. Crime, intemperance, dishonesty, and stagnation, all decline before educational efforts; while on the other hand, social purity, sobriety, morality, and progress follow in its wake. We will now examine the elements of population among the early settlers of the county. It is manifestly necessary to do this, since upon the character of the early settlers depends largely the temper of the future population.

The early settlers of Wayne county came here to find homes, and nearly all brought their families. The first settlement was made in 1805. In that year, Richard Rue and George Holman, both Kentuckians, came north and built cabins about two miles south of where Richmond now stands. Both had previously been captured by the Indians and held for three and a half years. On their return, with their own families, they brought along two other settlers with their families, named McCoy and Blount, who settled in the neighborhood. Thus was begun the first settlement in Wayne county. In the same year, a little later, came the Endsleys and Coxes, with their families, who settled on the Elkhorn. In March, 1806, David Hoover and four others followed a section line west, eight or ten miles north of Dayton, and explored the land north of Richmond. He returned and reported very favorably to his family, who were Friends, and in May or June of that year, he and his father, Andrew Hoover, Sr., entered several quarter sections of land north of Richmond. Jeremiah Cox, about this time, took up land north of Main street, while John Smith settled south of the present site of Main street. Other families of Friends soon followed these and we find the following families settled west of Richmond: Jacob Meek, in 1806; Elijah Wright, in 1806; Jesse Bond, 1807; John Burgess, 1808; Valentine Pegg, in 1809.

North of the city, on the West Fork, settled, besides the Hoovers, already mentioned, Cornelius Ratliff, and Joshua Pickett, in 1810. Next, above these, was the Addington settlement. Further up were the Starbucks, Swains, Harrisons and Turners.

On Middle Fork, William Bulla settled near the mouth of the stream. Near the Hoover settlement we find Jesse Clark, Ralph Wright, Alexander Moore and Amos and Abner Clawson. Further up the stream, the Staffords, Bonds, Bunkers, Swallows, Ashbys, and Andrews, settled. A little further up, Jeremiah Cox, Jr., settled and built a grist mill. On the East Fork, the first settlers were Joseph Wasson, in 1806, and Peter Fleming, in 1807. They entered the first land in Wayne county in the winter of 1804. Among others who early settled on this stream were, Benjamin and Robert Hill, in 1806; Ralph Wright, in 1807; John Hawkins, in 1807; John Morrow, in 1808; John Charles, in 1809; and James and Peter Ireland. With the exceptions of the Wassons, Irelands, and Flemings, who were Kentucky Presbyterians, the majority of the settlers in and about Richmond were North Carolina Quakers, from Guilford county, near Clemen's Store, Beard's Hatter Shop, Deep River Settlement of Friends, or Dobson's Crossroads.

We will now consider the elements of the early population by townships. One of the first settlements was that of what is now Boston township. Here we find families from Pennsylvania, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia. Among the early settlers were Thomas Bulla, Jacob Foutz, and Jesse Davenport, who came out in 1806; John Collins, in 1807; James Lamb and Abraham Gaar, in 1807; Aaron Martin, in 1807; Jackson Rambo and Wright Lancaster, in 1808; Christopher Roddy, Joshua Meek and Isaac Beeson, who came from North Carolina in 1807; Robert Grimes, in 1808; and Abraham Esteb, Jacob Keesling, Armstrong Grimes, and William Parson, who arrived in 1809. Adam Zeck settled in the northeastern part of the township in 1810. David Shaffer and Simon Draper, from Virginia, settled in the same neighborhood in 1810. James Sulser and Lazarus Whitehead, an English preacher, and William Burke and Isaac Beeson, all settled in the valley of the Elkhorn. In the southern part of the township we find the following early settlers: Joshua Benton, Jeremiah Girton, James Holman, Absalom Rambo, Joseph Cravens, Thomas Hiatt, Isaac Conley, John Miller, Thomas Ward, Peter Mellender, and John Rife. From these names it is evident that a large part of the population of this locality is of German descent.

Probably the first settler in Center township was Daniel No-

land, after whom one fork of the west branch of the White Water river was named. He and his three sons settled on the west bank of that stream. In 1812, this land was sold by the Government, and being unable to pay for his quarter section it was taken off his hands by Thomas McCoy for a sum equal to the improvements made. The majority of the early settlers of this township were from North Carolina and were Quakers. Among the pioneer names we find the following: Henry Bryan, the first county surveyor and a native of Delaware; William Crawford, William Conner and James Haynes, all of whom lived on Noland's Fork; Caleb Jackson, who lived west of that stream; Greensburg Cornelius, William and John Harvey, James Townsend, Exum Elliott, Robert Galbraith, Edward Benbow, Joseph Overman, John Stiggleman, Michael Harvey, John Elwood, Jacob Griffin, John Maxwell, John King, Jehu Wickersham, John Garrett, William Hosier, Robert Harvey, James Junkins, Robert Black, John Hill, Ezekiel Commons, Daniel Stone, Francis Coffin, John Woodward, Samuel Parker, James Martin, Charles Canady, Joseph Overman, William and Thomas Culbertson, Vumedge Russell, Richard Pedrick, James E. Bryant, Isaac Miller, and Isaac Julian. The majority of these were North Carolina Quakers.

The first settlers of Clay township were James Martindale and Jonas Hatfield, Sr., who settled in 1812. Both lived on Green's Fork, the former one-half mile above and the latter southeast of the present village of Green's Fork. In 1813, came Jesse Bond and William Fox; in 1814 and 1815, Miles Murphy, Moses Martindale, William Young, Benjamin Angell, John Pierson, Martin Martindale, William Bell, Henry Garrett, and Abraham Elliott. Prior to 1816 came also Benjamin Albertson, Benjamin Hall, John Foland, Stephen Horney, Moses Coffin, Absalom Williams, and Isaac Mendenhall, all from North Carolina. Here, too, we find a large part of the early population Quakers.

Franklin township was settled almost exclusively by North Carolina Quakers. The first settler was probably Isaac Commons, who came in 1809. The northern part of the township was settled by James Harlan and his sons from Kentucky, in 1817, and has since been known as the "Harlan Settlement." Probably the first settlers in Webster township were Joseph and Rachael Bond, who moved from North Carolina in 1811. This region was soon after settled by immigrants from Virginia, Kentucky, New Jersey, and North Carolina, those from the last named State predominating. Probably the earliest settlers in New Garden township were

John Turner and Jonathan Marine, who settled there in 1809 or 1810. This became a Quaker settlement, many of the settlers coming from the New Garden Meeting House, Guilford county, North Carolina. They established a Friends Meeting, which they named for that from which they came, and it still exists under the same name, about one-half mile south of Fountain City. The sentiment of these people has continued to rule the community ever since, and as a result the morals of the community have been of a high order. Green township was first settled by a North Carolinian. His name was John Lewis and he came in 1810. Among the early settlers there were several families from New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. At the close of the year 1814, but five families were to be found in what is now Perry township. They were those of James Warren and Richard Williams, of Tennessee; Thomas Lamb, of South Carolina; William Blount, from Kentucky, though originally from Pennsylvania; and John Bailey. As in most of the settlements yet noticed this section was invaded by a large number of Quakers. We also find several South Carolinians who drifted up through Tennessee.

Dalton township was not settled until 1818, when Aquilla West settled near the present town of Dalton. It was not until the Government sale of land, in 1822, that any great number of settlers moved in. Those who came about this time were from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. The majority were Quakers. Jefferson township was also not fully settled until after 1822. The earliest settlers are unknown, but some probably arrived about 1815. Here we find a new element of population, not yet noticed—the German Baptists or Dunkards. They located a church which has been maintained by their descendants. Immigrants from Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Kentucky, took up homes in this township. Among them but few Quakers were to be found. Harrison township was first settled by Samuel Boyd, who came from Tennessee in the spring of 1811. John Beard was probably the next settler, arriving in October, 1811. The subsequent early inhabitants came from various States. A large number were Germans, from Maryland and Pennsylvania. Several families came from New Jersey, Kentucky, and Virginia.

John Shortridge is said to have been the first settler of Jackson township. He settled south of Germantown, in 1809. Carolina Quakers and Pennsylvania Germans were the principal early inhabitants. The Quakers came first, the German element beginning to arrive about 1820. A few families also came from Ken-

tucky and Virginia. The territory now forming Washington township was first settled by Thomas Symons, of North Carolina, in 1811. He was followed by many families from the same State. We also find Pennsylvania Germans mixed with the early population. Among the earliest settlers of Abington township were the Endsleys and the Hunts, who came, respectively, from South and North Carolina. David Railsback settled in this neighborhood in 1807. The majority of the early settlers were North Carolinians. From this brief review of the population of the county, it is evident that the most numerous and widely scattered element was the Carolina Quakers. Next in number were the Germans from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. It will be noticed that the Carolinians predominated in the east and north, while the Germans were strongest in the west and south. Such is the stock from which the population of Wayne county has sprung. Although people from various States, religions, and nationalities, have since taken up their abode here, they have not changed the general character of the population. Another striking feature of the early settlement of the county is that few New Englanders found their way hither. The greater part came from south of Mason and Dixon's line. Those from north of that line came mainly from the Middle States.

The predominant characteristics of the people can be directly traced to the elements of this early population. The strong abolition sentiments held by the people when the slavery question was stirring the public mind can be traced to the North Carolinians and their descendants, who forsook their former homes because of their opposition to the institution of slavery. The honesty, piety, and moral purity of the people may be traced to both the Quaker and German Baptist element. Both make excellent citizens. While they are both conservative classes of people, they are not non-progressive. While they have not the quick-wittedness of the Yankee, they have a plodding determination which has produced a wealthy and highly prosperous community. The early settlers of Wayne county were a peaceable and a just class of citizens. These traits were soon displayed in their dealings with the Indians. The red man was often fed by the early settlers, and by some he was made welcome at the fireside during the long cold winters. Many stories are told of the fairness with which the Quakers dealt with the Indians.

A spirit of mutual helpfulness and friendliness existed among them and it is yet to be found among their descendants, where the

conventionalism and the commercial spirit of the city has not choked it out. Neither the Carolina Quakers nor the Germans were opposed to honest toil. These pioneers were "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and before the lusty strokes of their axes and their firm grasp of the plough handle forests fell and were superseded by waving fields of grain and fruitful orchards. The appreciation of learning and culture was keen among these people. The erection of the cabin was closely followed by that of the log school-house. The first school-house was erected by the Holman and Rue families, who first settled Wayne county. In general we may say that the early settlers of the county were an earnest, serious, sober, home-loving people. Purity and thrift are the rich legacy they have bequeathed their descendants.

Having discovered some of their traits, we will next inquire into their manner of settlement and living. The first settlers of Wayne county settled mainly along the streams. Land being cheap, at $1.25 per acre, most settlers entered a quarter-section or more. The first thing, of course, was to erect their cabin. It was an unwritten law that all the neighbors should help a newcomer or a bridegroom raise his cabin. Teams, labor, and tools, were put at his disposal and willing hands cut the logs, hauled them to place, notched the ends which were to form the corners, and placed them in position. Meanwhile others cut poles for the roof and rived huge blocks of straightgrained timber for clapboards. The fireplace was then built in one end, of sticks, stones, and clay, a piece of oiled paper was placed in the window for light, the door was hung on wooden hinges and fastened with a wooden lock, and the cabin was ready for occupancy. In the same way all turned out at harvest time.

As is true with most pioneers of a new country, the early inhabitants were not people of means. All were in the same condition and all had sought new homes in order to better their condition. Their possessions were few and their wants were limited by their surroundings. It is a true saying that "the more a man has the more he wants." Knowing that to want for the comforts of civilization was in vain, these people were content and happy. It was a case of the survival of the strongest, the physically weak and faint-hearted having no place in such a life. The division of labor had not progressed far. Each settler, by his own ingenuity, supplied the necessities of his life. Nearly everything was home-made. The pioneer made most of his tools and household utensils. He often made the shoes for the family.

The toil which he expended upon the soil produced his food. The sugar maples yielded his yearly supply of sugar and molasses. He was thus almost as independent as Crusoe upon his island. The wife was no less busy and played a no less important part in the struggle for existence. She spun yarn, wove the cloth, and cut and made the garments of the family, besides doing the thousand and one duties which fall to the lot of the farmer's wife. Her utensils were of the rudest sort, buckeye bowls, and a few frying pans, crocks and kettles, forming her culinary outfit. Then, in cooking, she had to kneel before the wide fireplace and endure the scorching heat of the log fire. The women, too, were very skillful in their work. They could hackle flax and perform all the processes of making linen. They also made soap and hominy. To see a woman of that day dexterously turn a pancake with a jerk and twist of the long handled frying pan would be a revelation to the modern cook. These are now counted among the lost arts.

The children of that day also had a place in the domestic activities. Idleness was not to be tolerated and each had his duties to perform. The great fireplace ate rapidly into the wood pile, which was generally attended to by the boys. The grain must be carried to the mill, which was generally several miles distant. At first it was carried on horseback, along the narrow bridle paths through the forest, but with the opening of roads, wagons soon came into use. Arriving at the mill, the grain was reduced to meal and bran, the usual toll of one-eighth was taken by the miller for grinding, and our farmer boy would set his face towards home with a lighter sack but greater in bulk. These trips often took an entire day. Then, on Saturday, when not in school, there was hominy to be beaten in the mortar with the heavy pestle, and in the sowing and harvest times the boys carried water, dropped the seed, or helped to bind and haul the ripe grain.

The girls, also, had their duties and were early initiated into the arts of domestic affairs. In this social state, each had his place to fill and no one was heard to complain because of lack of work. In almost every community the settlers built a stockade, with block houses at two opposite corners, which commanded all the approaches. In these, they took refuge in time when Indians took to the warpath. The block houses were constructed with an upper story which overhung the lower about four feet, the floor of this projection being pierced by loopholes for rifles. Thus, the ease and safety of the present generation was gained by the hard toil of its sturdy ancestry, amid danger and privation. But, although

people of to-day are more cultured and are infinitely more advanced in the arts of civilization, yet it is to be doubted whether they are happier than their worthy sires. The amusements of the early settlers were keenly enjoyed. The family gathered about the roaring fire of logs of a winter's evening, the bright, healthy faces, the enjoyment of stories and jokes and the ever-present cider and apples, forms a picture which is not dimmed when placed alongside a modern fire scene. Social amusements were generally of such a nature as included an element of usefulness.

House raising, followed by the house warming, at which supper was usually served, was one of the social functions of the time. The husking bee, at which the company divided itself into two rival parties, vying with each other to see who could shuck the most corn, was another amusement then in vogue. This was usually followed by supper and games. Among the women, sewing bees and quiltings were a means of social intercourse and also of profit. Apple "pealings" likewise made a pleasant amusement in the autumn. As a means of education and genuine enjoyment, the spelling school came in for its share of attention during the winter evenings. Old and young assembled from miles around at the little log school-house to hear the contest. Singing schools were also very popular and afforded the young gallant an opportunity to escort his "best girl."

From this brief sketch it is evident that the simplicity was the principal characteristic of the early social life of Wayne county. This is true in the pioneer stage of every community. Progress means complexity of institutions. We have seen that the settlers practiced nearly all the trades which were necessary to their simple manner of life. Business methods were as yet simple. The elaborate system of credit which now prevails was then unknown. Barter was the rule in trade. The people were so honest that notes were not given for borrowed money and banks did not make their appearance until 1834. Schools were as yet not differentiated into various grades as at present. The district schools taught the "Three R's" to all grades and ages of pupils.

Simplicity was also the ruling principle in religion. The various auxiliaries of the church were unknown and the Meeting was the sum total of religious effort. Politics stirred the people very little and the political activities of the citizen were confined to national questions and national candidates. The social institutions and problems were as yet very simple. The care of the poor and the saloon question vexed the pioneer mind very little.

They are problems arising from the centralization of population in towns and cities. We will now seek to discover how the people of Wayne county have been in the past, and are at present, solving the various social problems.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

In 1811 a commission was appointed by the Court of Wayne county to select a site for the county seat. The members of the commission were Samuel Walker, Richard Maxwell, and Benjamin Harris. They selected a place donated by Samuel Woods, on Clear creek, in township 13, range 3. This was the first town laid out in the county. It flourished as a village of a few hundred inhabitants until 1816, when the county seat was removed to Centerville. The name of this village was Salisburg, but neither the place nor its name are to be found at the present time upon the map, and nothing remains of its buildings. Centerville had been organized as a town in 1814 and, being more centrally located, was made the county seat, which it remained until August, 1873. In 1826 it had about 400 people and was a thriving town. Few places can boast of having more great men as residents. Among them are Indiana's great war governor, Oliver P. Morton; and General Burnside. For many years Centerville was the largest and most prosperous town in the county, but the removal of the county seat to its rival, Richmond, was a severe blow to its progress. In its palmy days, Centerville was the home of brilliant lawyers and many prominent people of the county. Many of Richmond's most respected citizens came from that town. It is yet a town of 600 people.

Richmond was begun in 1816, by an addition being laid out south of Main street by John Smith, and a little later by one north of Main street by Jeremiah Cox. In 1819, it had about 350 people. Through its manufacturing industries and its being the county seat it grew rapidly in population. It is now, according to the census of 1910, a thriving city of 22,324 people. Cambridge City, the second city in population and wealth, was laid out in 1836. It has steadily increased in population since its foundation and contains about 2,237 people. Besides these there are several other towns and villages in the county. Hagerstown, in Jefferson township, is a town of 936 inhabitants. Dublin, two miles east of Cambridge City, in Jackson township, has a population of 704. Fountain City, in New Garden township, has a population of 448 people.

Milton, lying two miles south of Cambridge City, in Washington township, has a population of 601 people. Abington, in Abington township, has a population of 150 people. Williamsburg, in Green township, has 300 inhabitants. Economy, in Perry township, has 350 inhabitants. Dalton, in Dalton township, has 62 inhabitants. Green's Fork, in Clay, has 377. Jacksonburg, in Harrison, has 100. Germantown, in Jackson, has 305. White Water, in Franklin township, has 112 people. These are the principal centers of population and in them we expect to find social institutions developed.

The first great social movement among the people of Wayne county was their attitude towards the Fugitive Slave Law. The sentiment of the people being against slavery, they were naturally opposed to returning runaway slaves to their masters. In the system of helping runaways to freedom Wayne county's citizens played an active part. The town of Newport, now Fountain City, was an important station on one of the lines for transporting negroes, which were known as the "Underground Railways." Levi Coffin, a citizen of Newport, and a Quaker, was one of the foremost workers in this most humane work. His house, which by the way still stands as a relic of those days, was a station on the line. Mr. Coffin ran one of the large covered wagons used in the work. He and his kindhearted wife received the runaways into their house, fed and clothed them, and secreted them from the slave hunters who infested the country, until they could be transported to the next station. This was usually to Cabin Creek; thence to Jonesboro, Marion, and so on, up to Canada. The route south of Newport included Cincinnati, College Hill, Elkhorn, and New Paris. William and Israel Huff were among the other workers in the cause. Mr. Coffin stated that he cared for 3,200 fugitives during his residence in Newport, not one of whom was recovered by his master. The trips were made at night and very rapidly. Several encounters were had with bands of slave hunters, who often insisted on searching their houses for slaves, but, as a rule, they were baffled by the system of hiding and transportation. While the proceedings of the "Underground Railway" were contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the Fugitive Slave Law, yet they may be excused upon the grounds of humanity.

The next social movement in which the people of Wayne county were interested was the care of the families of the soldiers who took part in the Civil war. Many were the sacrifices made by families in that great struggle. Husbands and sons went to war, leaving behind them families who were dependent on their daily toil.

The suffering entailed by this state of affairs would have been enormous had not those of Wayne county's loyal sons who remained behind come forward and liberally contributed to the support of the soldier's wife and children. Especially was help necessary in the cities. In the country, the women and children could manage to raise enough produce to keep "the wolf from the door"; but in the cities, their sources of income were more limited, through their inability to earn anything. Many generous deeds of kindness are doubtless unrecorded; but the liberality of the farmers surrounding the city of Richmond, in caring for its distressed, was so great that it deserves to go down in the history of the county as one of its brightest pages. The winters of 1862 and 1863 were very hard on the poor. One morning in January, 1863, twenty-five wagons, loaded with wood, and one with flour, meal, potatoes, etc., were driven into Richmond by the Middleboro farmers, and their contents were distributed among the poor and needy of the soldiers' families. On Saturday, Feb. 14, a delegation from Boston township brought over sixty cords of wood and 3,000 pounds of meal and other provisions. On Feb. 28, the farmers along the National Road, east of the city, brought in ninety-two cords of wood, over 2,000 pounds of flour, forty bushels of corn meal, six bushels of potatoes, etc. The procession was eight blocks long. The next Monday the farmers along the pike west of town, came in with a contribution equally as large. The rivalry in this work of mercy became very intense. The Middleboro farmers again came into town on March 28 with a train of wagons nearly a mile long. The farmers along the Liberty Pike, not to be outdone, now brought in their contribution, their total gifts amounting, in value, to $1,300. These different delegations were received by the citizens with brass bands and speaking.

Provisions were also hauled into the smaller towns. In December, 1863, Cambridge City received a large contribution of wood and provisions, and March 19, Centerville was liberally remembered by the patriotic farmers. On Oct. 31, 1863, the Middleboro farmers, for the third time, opened their liberal stores of wood and provisions and brought into Richmond about $500 worth of material. Governor Morton made the opening address of welcome on this occasion and was followed by Generals Benton and Mansfield. A few days later, a "Young Men's Saw-Buck Brigade" was organized, which sawed and split the wood for use.

On Thanksgiving Day another demonstration of patriotism and liberality was made by the farmers along the National Road,

east of the city of Richmond, who were given, in turn, a dinner in Starr Hall, in company with the soldiers' families. At the time the first soldiers departed a committee, composed of Louis Burke, J. A. Bridgeland, and Rev. J. W. T. McMullen, was appointed to see the Richmond city council and the county commissioners relative to making an appropriation for the soldiers' families. The council responded by ordering money paid from the treasury and by ordering all unnecessary improvements stopped; the county commissioners paid out about $700 weekly, during the winter of 1862, for charity. On April 10, 1862, a "Sanitary Committee" was appointed at a mass meeting in Starr Hall. At this meeting $522 was raised and, on a call to other townships, they responded liberally with money, provisions and clothing for hospital use. The aid societies of the churches were organized about this time and did noble work in supplying hospital necessities and luxuries. On May 28, 1862, the published report of the "Sanitary Committee" showed a total of $1,166.66 paid in, besides clothing and provisions. During December, 1863, a special effort was made to raise money by suppers, concerts and subscriptions. This was under the control of the "Sanitary Committee" and the aid societies. Centerville gave a dinner, a supper, and a concert. At White Water a dinner and a supper were given. Meetings were held in Cambridge City, Dublin, Milton, Clay township, Abington, Harrison township, Hagerstown, Newport, Williamsburg, Economy, and Dalton township. A grand total of $11,300 was raised by this effort. For this liberal offering Wayne county was presented a prize banner by the State Sanitary Commission. We must not neglect to mention the enormous load of wood hauled into Richmond by William Parry, which is said to have been the largest contribution by any one. Williamsburg and Fountain City also contributed stores of wood and provisions. The last demonstration by the farmers was made in the winter of 1864. Prizes of purses and buffalo robes were offered for the largest contribution, and the delegation from the National Road, east of Richmond, won, with 111 cords of wood. Thus did the people of Wayne county deal with the charity question during the Civil war. The grand totals for the whole county were as follows: Contribution for soldiers' bounties, $379,093.35; contributions for the relief of soldiers' families, $184,350; total, $563,443.35.

Wayne county has been in the past and is at present in the forefront among the counties of the State in caring for her poor. The amount expended for the relief of the poor by the county, in

1879, was $13,422. In 1898 the amount expended for the same purpose was $14,231. This money is distributed by the township trustees, who furnish fuel, food, and sometimes transportation, to worthy persons who become stranded in their community. By far the greatest amount is expended by the trustee of Wayne township, under whose jurisdiction is the city of Richmond. About $6,500 is expended annually in this township for the relief of the poor.

Wayne County's Poor Asylum is situated just north of the National Road, about two miles west of the town of Centerville. It is a model institution and, under the management of the present superintendent, E. N. Brumfield, is kept in fine condition. The farm contains about 300 acres. The number of inmates in the poor asylum in 1889 was fifty-four; in 1896, fifty-four; in 1898, forty-seven. Considering the number of inhabitants of the county, this number is small in comparison with the other counties of the State. The church auxiliary societies and secret societies do a vast amount of work throughout the county in caring for the poor. The various aid societies, Christian Endeavor, Sunday schools, and Epworth League societies, not only help the poor of their own membership, but give much help in general. The Woman's Relief Corps, wherever it has an organization, as in Richmond and Cambridge City, has done much for the comfort of the poor among the ex-soldiers of the Civil war and their families.

The secret societies of the county, out of their treasuries, pay benefits to their sick members and care for their poor. The Masons are an exception to this rule, but one of the ancient charges of the order is, "if you discover a true and genuine brother in want, you must relieve him if you can, or else direct him how he may be relieved." The four chief orders of the county are: The Masons, Knights of Pythias, the Odd Fellows and the Red Men. The Masons have lodges in Richmond, Cambridge City, White Water Williamsburg, Economy, Chester, Boston, Abington, Milton, Centerville, and Hagerstown. The Knights of Pythias have lodges in Richmond, Boston, Abington, Centerville, Hagerstown, Fountain City, and Cambridge City. The Odd Fellows are represented by lodges in Richmond, Cambridge City, Boston, Abington, Centerville, Germantown, Dublin, Milton, Hagerstown, Washington, Williamsburg, Jacksonburg, Walnut Level, and Webster. The Red Men have lodges in Richmond, Cambridge City, and Centerville. The county is thus well covered by these organizations. Their work, although confined to their own members, is neverthe-

less a powerful factor in caring for the county's poor and unfortunate. In the city of Richmond the charitable efforts of the citizens are carried on through certain special agencies which are more or less in harmony, through the co-ordinating influence of the Associated Charities and the Council of Charities. Among these organizations and institutions are the following: The Woman's Relief Corps, the Morrisson Relief Fund, the Children's Home, Margaret Smith Home, the St. Stephen's Hospital, the Home of the Friendless, the Busy Bee Society, the Penny Club, the Pingree Garden Committee, and the Richmond Benevolent Association.

The Woman's Relief Corps is an auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic. The Richmond corps was organized Jan. 18, 1887. The membership is now limited to soldiers' relatives. Up to 1897, $1,300 in money, besides much clothing and food, was expended by this society for charity; also, four children have been placed in good homes and an orphan girl was sent to a surgical institute for treatment. They also see to the burial of soldiers' widows. These noble women are untiring workers in the cause and give suppers and entertainments to raise funds. The Morrisson Relief Fund is a sum of $10,000, donated by Robert Morrisson at his death, for the good of the poor of Richmond. From its beginning it has been managed by a board of trustees, composed of James E. Reeves, C. W. Ferguson, and Elgar Hibberd. With the interest accruing from it the Children's Home was established and maintained until it became a county institution. Since that time a board of lady managers has regulated its use, the greater part going to the support of the Margaret Smith Home. This most generous gift has done much good and will forever redound to the honor of the giver.

The Children's Home was first established in the manner stated, on South Fifth street. In 1881 it was removed to its present site at the corner of the National Road and College avenue, which was bought by the county commissioners. In 1887 the commissioners undertook its full support and for a time it was continued as a county institution. The Margaret Smith Home for aged women was established out of a legacy left by Margaret Smith, amounting to $32,000. It was first started in the Francis Robinson property on South Fifth street and was subsequently moved to its present beautiful location at the corner of Seventeenth and Main streets. Any aged lady, by giving up her property to the Home, can be cared for there. The St. Stephen's Hospital, at the corner of Eighth and North C streets, was organized under the auspices

of St. Paul's Episcopal church, in 1884. A board of nine members was appointed by the vestry of this church, selected from the various churches. The institution is open to any one regardless of creed or nationality and is dependent for its support upon charity and the contributions of those who are able to pay for the services rendered them. Its present site was purchased in 1891 for $6,000. The St. Stephen's Ladies' Aid Society has done much for its support by giving suppers and entertainments. From 1885 to 1896 they raised $2,836. This is a most worthy institution and deserves the help of all citizens.

The Home of the Friendless was organized under the direction of the Young Men's Christian Association by a committee of ladies. Its purpose is to shelter and provide for unfortunate women and children until they are able to care for themselves. It reaches out after those who have fallen the lowest and screens them from the sneers and blows of a hard and unfeeling world. It is controlled by a board of lady managers. The average number of inmates is eighteen. It is dependent entirely upon charity. The Society known as "Busy Bee" was organized in 1868 by Martha Valentine and Letitia Smith, as a training school for poor children. Sewing was taught and the garments made were given to the poor. It lasted about twenty years, but is now disorganized. The Penny Club is likewise a club for helping the poor. A penny is donated by each member at each meeting. It works in connection with the Relief Corps and its methods of bestowing charity are of the best. The Associated Charities was organized in 1889, to succeed the Minister's Association, which had done charity work for twenty-five years. "The object of the Association is to promote whatever tends to the permanent improvement of the condition of the poor." The work of the Association is first, "to bring existing local charitable agencies into co-operation, in order to prevent indiscriminate and duplicate alms giving; second, to secure the investigation of the cases of all persons in any of our districts who need help; third, to find them the help or work they need; fourth, to prevent begging and to secure the community from imposters; fifth, to promote the general welfare of the city; sixth, to improve the character and methods of administering relief; seventh, to prevent the children growing up paupers." From this, we see that the association is proceeding upon a rational basis and has taken the proper method of alms giving. In 1892 a city missionary was appointed, who has done efficient work and has found her field of work constantly widening. Soup houses were opened in the

basement of the Pearl street church during the hard winters of 1893 and 1894. At first it was given away, but later was sold for one cent a bowl or five cents a pail. In November, 1895, work rooms were opened on South Fifth street, where citizens were requested to bring mending and washing to be done by poor women. At first, five cents an hour and a good dinner was the pay, but the next year forty cents a washing was substituted. These methods are the most advanced in the theory of alms giving and deserve the hearty co-operation of every loyal citizen.

The "Pingree" or Detroit plan of helping the poor to help themselves came into being through the efforts of Mayor Ostrander, in the spring of 1895. He asked the council to appropriate $100 for the experiment, which they did. A committee, composed of Caleb King, Jacob Hampton, and Daniel Hill, was appointed to carry it out. The plan was highly successful. During the first year fifty-two gardens were cultivated. In 1896, eighty gardens were cultivated and sixty dollars of the $200 appropriated by the council in that year was turned back into the treasury. In 1898 and 1899, $200 was appropriated by the council and the number of gardens was considerably increased. In order to obtain a plot of ground the applicant must sign several articles of agreement between himself and the committee. The committee agrees to furnish a plot of ground, put it in suitable order for planting, and furnish seed potatoes; the applicant agrees to furnish the smaller seeds and plants, to cultivate the same in good order, and to furnish a report to the committee. A failure in any one of the above requirements forfeits the lot. The plan has been a grand success and some very good products have been exhibited at the annual exhibition of such products. The principle involved in this plan is in accordance with all the principles of correct charity giving.

Richmond also has a Council of Charities, organized Aug. 16, 1896; it brings all the charitable organizations into harmonious action. There has recently been organized a new institution, known as the Richmond Benevolent Association, with J. B. Craighead as president; its object is to raise funds for the various charitable institutions of the city by giving entertainments, such as a society circus in the summer and a play in the winter. It is a worthy movement and deserves great success.

From this brief review it is evident that Wayne county is far advanced in the methods of her charitable work, in the amount of such work, and in the efficient institutions engaged in it. In the sphere of organizations for raising the general standard of culture

and sociability, she is also well up in the forefront. Nearly every hamlet has its literary society, which has not only an educational influence, but also a direct social influence. The town of Cambridge City has three active literary societies: The Helen Hunt Club, the Friday Night Club, and the Magazine Club. In Richmond there are eighteen active clubs. They are the Tuesday Club, a purely literary organization which discusses papers on miscellaneous subjects written by its members; the Cycle, a purely literary club, engaged in studying literature, biography, economic and political history; the Tuesday Aftermath, consisting of forty members and studying literature, history, domestic, economic, and current events; the Wednesday Society, a ladies' club which has done literary and musical work and contributed to charitable objects; the Tichnor Club, organized for literary and social purposes; the History Class, having for its purpose the study of history and art; the Tourist Club, having a social as well as a literary feature, the latter being a successive study of the conditions of the countries of the world; the North End Literary Club, devoted to the study of children and literary subjects; the Variorum Club, a club of ladies engaged in invstigating questions concerning municipalities; the Women's Literary Circle, having about forty members and organized for social, literary and charitable purposes; the Spring Grove Literary Society, a family organization, having for its purpose the social intermingling of the families which constitute its membership and the discussion of general literary subjects and current events; the Magazine Club, which considers all the current magazines and contributes to the musical taste and social enjoyment of its members; the Child's Study Club, a club composed of mothers and teachers devoted to "the promotion of the welfare of the children and to bringing parents and teachers into mutual relationship in order to accomplish this"; the Twentieth Century Club, a ladies' organization, having for its object the study of political questions; the Nomades Club, composed of twenty ladies who study the work of various authors and the art of conversation; the Woman's Collegiate Club; the Friday Evening Club, composed of twenty members, both ladies and gentlemen, and giving programmes, consisting of discussions of English and American authors, and music, besides a general social time; the Local Sociology Club, devoted to the study of various social questions in Richmond, and composed of the foremost business men and educators of the city; and the Political Economy Club, composed of the leading business men of the city who are investigating questions of political economy, political science, and sociology.

Besides these various clubs there is a co-ordinating organization, known as the Council of Clubs, which is composed of two delegates from each club in the city. Its meetings are purely business meetings; their work is towards the general advancement of culture in the city by art exhibitions, etc.

One more problem in the county remains to be treated—the temperance question. This question has been met with as much ability as have the others which we have examined. In the first place, where the original elements of population have held sway, the saloon has never flourished, and drunkenness has been the exception rather than the rule. The fight against the saloon has been determined and systematic and not without favorable results. In the early days little was thought of drinking; many farmers had their whiskey barrel in the cellar and the jug was usually seen in the harvest field; but to-day these practices are unusual. In New Garden township, of which we have made mention before, on account of its high moral atmosphere, we find public sentiment strongly shown against saloons. A brewery, started there in 1825, was abandoned on account of the hostility of the inhabitants towards it. In the year 1828, William Way started another, but it soon succumbed to the pressure of public opinion. In 1829 four saloons were present in Fountain City; in 1830, a temperance society was organized to resist their influence; a debate was opened on the question between the liquor men and the anti-liquor men; it occurred in public from 2 o'clock p. m. until after midnight. The temperance debators were Dr. H. H. Way, Able Lomax, and Willis Davis. The representatives of the whiskey faction were John Huff, E. Lee, and Joseph Lomax. The debate is said to have been won by the anti-liquor men. This locality succeeded in getting rid of its saloons and is now free from their baneful influence. In Clay township, in 1849, twelve women of the community succeeded in driving out the only saloon in their midst. Only one saloon has ever been licensed by the county commissioners in that locality, and it quit before its license had expired.

A Woman's Christian Temperance Union organization was started in the town of Green's Fork in 1875. Williamsburg had a branch of the Washington Society in 1841, and an organization, called the Sons of Temperance, was organized in 1846. A woman's temperance society was organized in 1851. The women have been very active in keeping out saloons in that community and one has not been located there since the last named date. Dublin's first temperance society is said to have been organized as early as

1839; it was supplanted by the Sons of Temperance in 1846; in 1851 the Temple of Honor and the Social Temple were organized to combat the liquor habit. In 1850 the Good Templars took the field against it and held out until 1875, when the general opinion of the public was apparently so strong against the saloon and drinking that its labors were no longer needed. Dublin has been practically free from saloons for over fifty years.

Webster, Abington, Boston, Chester, and Middleboro, have been, as a rule, free from saloons. Centerville had one or two saloons for several years, but strong efforts have been continually made against them by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other temperance workers. In the winter of 1898 and 1899, the inhabitants took advantage of the Nicholson Law, which gave a community the right to expel a saloon from its midst by a petition of a majority of the qualified voters, and protested against the re-issuing of licenses to the saloons in their midst and were successful. Two other saloon keepers were prevented from obtaining licenses. In Richmond no organized attempt was made against saloons until 1836. About this time a Washington Society was organized. A delegation from Cincinnati organized a society of the Daughters of Temperance about the same time. The Temple of Honor and the Social Temple also had organizations in the city of Richmond during the '50s. The Sons of Temperance came next and were in turn followed by the Good Templars. These organizations have done much to discourage the drinking of intoxicating liquors and to establish a public sentiment against it. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is now one of the most active organizations upholding the temperance cause. The White Water Quarterly Meeting of Friends has a standing committee of twenty-one members on temperance which has also been very active.

In reviewing the social characteristics of the people of Wayne county the following challenge our attention: Intelligence and culture are widely spread throughout the county. It is only necessary to drive through the town and country places to observe traces of culture and aesthetic taste; well kept farms, lawns, and houses, tell a story of their own; thrift is the rule rather than the exception.

CHAPTER XVI.

WAYNE COUNTY BAR.

ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY—FIRST COURT—EARLY JUDICIARY—PROBATE COURT—RULES OF PRACTICE—MENTION OF PROMINENT LAWYERS—COUNTY AND ASSOCIATE JUDGES—JUDGES OF THE COMMON PLEAS COURT, AND OF THE WAYNE CIRCUIT, CRIMINAL, SUPERIOR, AND PROBATE COURTS—PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS—DISTRICT ATTORNEYS—MEMBERS OF THE BAR.

Wayne county was organized in 1810, being formed of the eastern and northern parts of Dearborn county. Before the organization of Wayne county, a legal business of this section of the country—commonly known as the "White Water Country"—was transacted at Lawrenceburg, the county seat of Dearborn county. Indiana was, at this time, a Territory, with Gen. William Henry Harrison as its first governor. Owing to the increasing population of this portion of Dearborn county, Richard Rue, in 1806, was appointed by the governor as the first justice of the peace. The Act by which Wayne county was formed also named John Cox, John Addington, and George Holman, as commissioners to locate the county seat, on or before the first Monday of the following May. This Act further directed that, "until the establishment of the county seat, the house of Richard Rue, Esq., shall be the legal place for holding courts, in and for said county, until a suitable court house be completed." Rue and Holman were among the earliest settlers in this part of Indiana. They were natives of Kentucky, who, after a long and brutal captivity of three years and a half among the Indians, escaped and emigrated to this county in 1805.

The first court held in Wayne county was held on Feb. 25, 1811, at the log house of Richard Rue, three miles south of the present site of Richmond. (These early records are very incomplete at the present time, and many are entirely illegible.) The county judges were Peter Fleming, Aaron Martin, and Jeremiah

Meek. George Hunt was the first clerk of the court, John Turner was sheriff, and James Noble was the prosecuting attorney. But little business came before the court at this first session, and the court soon adjourned. At the next session, held at Rue's house in March, 1811, the Hon. Jesse L. Holman, chief judge of the Third Circuit Court of Indiana, presided. Peter Fleming and Aaron Martin were associate judges. John Turner, as sheriff, impaneled the first grand jury in Wayne county. A seal of the court was adopted and consisted of "a wafer and a piece of paper turned over it, with the letters, 'Wayne County,' written thereon." These early courts were such in name more than in reality. It often happened that the presiding judge was unable to reach the place on the opening day of the court and it was necessary to postpone the session until his arrival. Swollen streams and lurking Indians made "circuit riding" anything but desirable in those early days. The sessions were held in the woods adjoining Rue's house, whenever the weather permitted, and the seats consisted of the family chairs and a half dozen convenient logs.

The following is the record made of a session held on June 17, 1811: "At a court of Nisi Prius, Oyer and Terminer, and General Jail Delivery, held at the house of Richard Rue, in and for the said County of Wayne on the 17th day of June, 1811, Present, the Hon. Benjamin Parke, Judge," etc. The court adjourned from the house of Rue to a large log in the edge of the wood and there held its session, the Grand and Traverse juries retiring in opposite directions to deliberate. There were but two cases for trial: "U. S. vs. James Pettit, for Larceny," and "U. S. vs. Isaac Shelby, for Assault and Battery." In the first case, the defendant, a boy, was charged with stealing a knife from John Smith, the Richmond merchant. The indictment was drawn by James Dill, the prosecutor, and was in a verbose and ancient form. It alleged that "the said James Pettit, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and being moved and instigated thereunto by his Satanic Majesty, the Devil, did then and there, wickedly, unlawfully, and feloniously steal, take, and carry away, said knife," etc. The boy was found guilty and the court decided that he should pay to Smith twelve and a half cents—the value of the knife—and to Indiana Territory, twenty-five cents and costs. Jeremiah Cox, one of the jury, although he considered the boy guilty, thought that the indictment was "rather too bold for so slight an offense."

Whipping was legal as late as 1820, as a punishment for crime. In this year we find an entry made of a judgment given

for larceny, of a fine and five lashes across the bare back. In these early days the attorneys' fees were proportionate to the fines assessed. In Order Book No. 1, we find an entry made that James Dill was allowed $25 as payment for his first term's services as prosecuting attorney.

A few words on the judiciary of Wayne county will be necessary in order to better understand the early courts, as well as those which followed them. When Indiana was a Territory, this county was included in the Third Territorial Circuit and its judges were appointed by the Territorial governors. Previous to the organization of Wayne county, in 1810, "County Judges" were appointed to represent this portion of Dearborn county. In 1810, however, the Wayne Circuit Court sprang into existence and a separate judge was chosen to preside. Benjamin Parke was the first judge of the Wayne Circuit Court and served from 1811 to 1815. The office of associate judge began when Indiana was admitted, in 1816, and continued until the new Constitution was adopted, in 1852.

There were two associate judges and, in connection with the Circuit Judge, or presiding judge, as he was called, constituted the court. They were seldom members of the bar and too often had but a very scant knowledge of the law, and as the two associate judges constituted a majority, there were numerous cases in which they overruled the opinion of the presiding judge, whose superior knowledge of the law ought to have decided the case. Such was true in the trial of Hampshire Pitts for murder, in 1822. In Order Book No. 1, we find that Associate Judges William McLane and Jesse Davenport overruled the objections of Presiding Judge Eggleston and granted Pitts a new trial, notwithstanding the fact that the evidence all pointed to his guilt.

A Probate Court was established in 1829 by an Act of the legislature, and Septimus Smith was appointed as the first judge. This court continued up to 1852, when the new Constitution abolished it, and that year the legislature established the Wayne Common Pleas Court. This court was given original jurisdiction in all probate matters, and in all civil cases where the amount claimed did not exceed $1,000, excepting where the title to real estate was involved, and in slander cases. Concurrent jurisdiction in divorce proceedings and criminal jurisdiction on misdemeanors were also given it. Nimrod H. Johnson was the first judge of the Common Pleas Court.

In 1867, an Act of the legislature established the Wayne Crim-

inal Court and William A. Peele was appointed to serve as the first judge. It was abolished in 1873 by the same Act of the legislature which abolished the Common Pleas Court. The Wayne Superior Court was established in 1877 and William A. Bickle was appointed the first judge of this court. It was abolished in 1878.

Regarding the establishment of the county seat, there seems to be a difference of opinion. The best authorities, however, state that Holman and Addington, appointed by the Act of the legislature in 1810 to locate the county seat, designated a quarter-section about three-fourths of a mile north of the present town of Centerville, as being nearest the geographical center of the county. John Cox, the third member, dissented on the grounds that this land had not yet been sold by the Government and therefore could not be legally used. The Court sustained the view of Cox and appointed Samuel Walker, Richard Maxwell, and Benjamin Harris to act in their place. These commissioners reported in favor of establishing "the permanent seat of justice on the donation of Samuel Woods, of sixty-five acres, in township thirteen (13), range three (3), with a small reserve." This report was accepted and the court ordered, "That the town in Wayne, or the seat of justice, shall be called Salisbury."

A log court house for temporary use and a rude jail of hewed, square logs, were built, but these were soon supplanted by brick structures. It is interesting to note that the cost of this first temple of justice in Wayne county was $229.99. The growth of Salisbury was rapid, and it was at one time not only the most flourishing town in Wayne county, but in the State. It was here, on this spot, long since obliterated by the plow, that we find the real beginnings of the Wayne County Bar. In Order Book No. 1 of the Wayne Circuit Court we find the following entry made: "Monday, the 3rd day of October, A. D., 1814, this being the day fixed by law for the setting of the Wayne Circuit Court; no judge appearing but the Hon. Elijah Sparks, Presiding Judge of said Court, and it appearing that although George Hunt was appointed and commissioned as Clerk of said Court, he had not taken the necessary oaths of office, nor was there any person present authorized to administer the said oaths;

"WHEREFORE, because the said clerk was not duly authorized (agreeably to the laws in such cases made and provided) to swear jurors, the said Wayne Circuit Court was adjourned until court in course.

"And now at this day, to-wit: On the first Monday in March,

being the sixth day of March, A. D., 1815, a Wayne Circuit Court begun and held in and for the County of Wayne, in the Third Circuit of Indiana Territory; present the Hon. Elijah Sparks, Esq., Presiding Judge, and the Hon. Aaron Martin and Peter Fleming, Associate Judges, as also George Hunt, Clerk of the Court.

"John Turner, Esq., returned into court the following panel of jury," etc. "On motion ordered that Amos Lane, John Lawrence, John Test, James Dill, William Hendricks, and James Noble are admitted to practice as Counsellors and Attorneys-at-Law in this court, also Edmund F. Vawter is admitted in like manner."

On this date also the first rules of practice were adopted, as follows:

RULES OF PRACTICE TO GOVERN THE COURTS IN THE THIRD CIRCUIT.

1. The attorneys in managing business shall keep themselves within the Bar.

2. The motion shall be made in the morning before entering upon the docket, and not afterwards, except such as necessarily arise out of the opening or the progress of a cause.

3. No more than two counsel on each side will be heard in argument on any motion.

4. No more than three counsel will be permitted to argue a cause to the Jury, except the same shall appear to be of more than ordinary importance.

5. All motions for continuances shall be supported by affidavit and decided without argument.

6. When a cause is called regularly and postponed by consent of parties, the same shall not be called again until the Docket is gone through and on second calling shall not be continued.

7. No time will be given to draw a plea after the cause is called for trial, provided the declaration was on file in sufficient time for putting in plea upon the rules.

8. No agreement of the bar will be regarded by the Court, unless the same is upon record or assented to by each party.

9. Each cause when called in order must be immediately entered upon for trial, continued and postponed by the consent of the parties, or placed at the foot of the Docket by the plaintiff.

10. That in all cases in arrest of judgment and for a new trial, notice of motion shall be given on tendering the verdict, and made within three days thereafter.

11. In no case shall more than one attorney be permitted to speak on the closing argument, unless by the consent of the Court.

Regarding the early disciples of Blackstone, accounts are very meagre. In 1811, Gen. William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, appointed James Dill and James Noble as prosecuting attorneys for this part of Indiana Territory. James Noble was, in 1815, appointed judge of the Wayne Circuit Court, which office he held one year, resigning in 1816 to serve his State in the United States Senate, a position which he held till 1831, serving his State with fidelity and honor. John Test and Amos Lane both served several terms in the United States Congress. John Test was judge of the Wayne Circuit Court from 1817 to 1819.

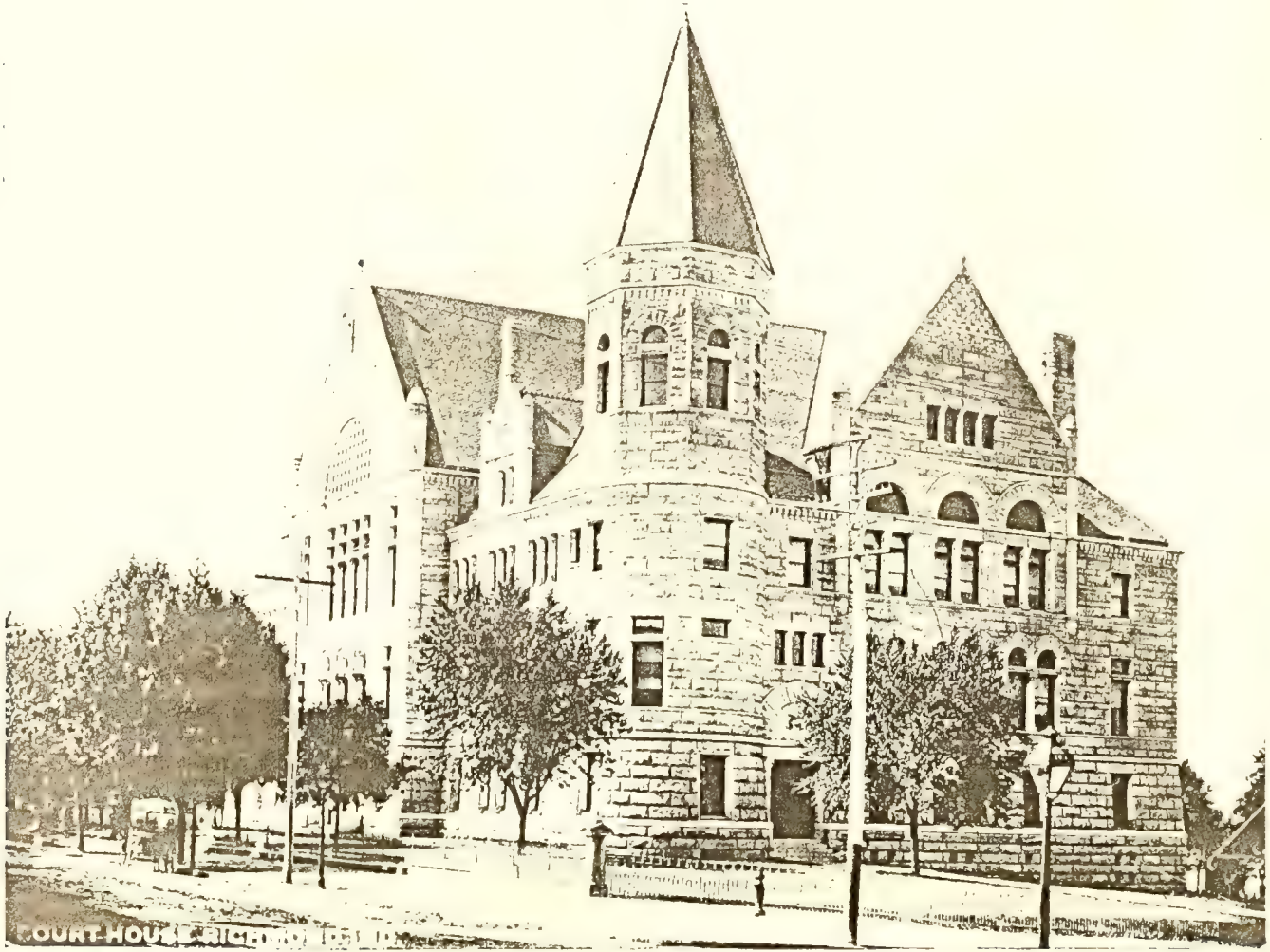
Jesse L. Holman was a lawyer of more than ordinary ability. He was judge of the Circuit Court in 1816, and in the same year was appointed judge of the Supreme Court of Indiana, a position which he filled until 1831.

William Hendricks was also a man of great ability. He served in Congress from 1816 to 1822, when he was elected governor of Indiana. As governor of Indiana he served his State faithfully and well, and, in 1825, was chosen as United States Senator, which position he filled until 1837.

Stephen C. Stephens was admitted as attorney and counsellor in October, 1815, and in 1817 was appointed as prosecuting attorney for the district.

Miles C. Eggleston, Addison Smith, and James Rariden, were duly qualified and admitted in March, 1818. The first named was a lawyer of no mean ability and acted as judge of the Wayne Circuit Court from 1820 to 1830.

James Rariden was one of the early settlers who served his State ably and well through the practice of his chosen profession. He was a native of Kentucky who came to Salisbury when a young man. Here he first studied Blackstone, and was deputy clerk of the court under David Hoover. He next served as prosecuting attorney, from 1822 to 1825, when he was elected to the State legislature from Wayne county. Here he served until 1837, when he was elected to the Congress of the United States, representing the district there until 1841. As a public servant he was faithful and efficient and, although his manner was somewhat rough, his sound judgment and ever ready wit rendered him as worthy as any lawyer at the bar at that time. Hon. Oliver H. Smith relates the following anecdote of him, showing his ready wit: "While Rariden was in the House of Representatives it became necessary for the



WAYNE COUNTY COURT HOUSE, BUILT 1890.

Secretary of State to designate two newspapers in Rariden's district to publish the laws of the United States. Mr. Forsyth, the secretary of state, wrote to Rariden, asking him to select two papers 'that inculcated correct doctrine.' Mr. Rariden asked, 'Would the Secretary consider a paper that supported General Harrison as inculcating correct doctrine?' 'I would not,' replied Mr. Forsyth. 'Then I have no recommendations to make,' replied Rariden."

D. J. Caswell was admitted in June, 1818; William W. Wick, Nathaniel French, and James B. Ray, were a trio admitted in 1819, and who were destined to win fame in later years.

William W. Wick was known as a shrewd lawyer and one remarkably successful in his practice. He was secretary of state under his friend and colleague, Gov. James B. Ray, and served in the United States Congress from 1839 to 1841, and from 1845 to 1849.

Hon. James B. Ray was acting lieutenant-governor in 1824-25, and in the latter year was elected governor of Indiana, being the youngest occupant of that chair up to that time. He was a zealous lawyer and a brilliant speaker.

About this time the little villages of Centerville and Richmond, away to the eastern side of the county, had grown so in size that they could support several members of the legal profession. Bethnel F. Morris was probably the first lawyer who ever settled in Centerville. He came to Centerville about 1818, from Brookville, and was later judge of the Marion Circuit Court.

"The first lawyer in Richmond," says Dr. Plummer, in his "Historical Sketch of Richmond," "was one Hardy. He boarded at Ephraim Lacey's tavern and walked the pavements with his thumbs stuck in the armholes of his vest and his head pompously thrown back, spouting the phrase,—'*Qui facit per alium facit per se*'; but still no business came and he concluded to go further south where merit was better rewarded." This was probably about 1820. In 1826 John B. Chapman advertises himself in the "Public Ledger" as "late of Virginia"—"Attorney and Counsellor at Law."

John D. Vaughn came to Richmond about 1827, from Wilmington, Del., and opened a law office, practicing before the courts here a number of years.

The most notable trial held in the little brick court house at Salisbury was that of the "United States vs. Henry Chryst—indictment for murder." The case was tried in the March term, 1816, before Jesse L. Holman, chief judge, and Associate Judges

Hoover and Fleming. The trial lasted but one day. The jury, composed of Richard Lewis, David Noland, John Bratton, John Patterson, Caleb Harvey, Jacob Meek, John Stewart, Lewis Hosier, Michael Neiss, William Clawson, John Small, and Bladden Ashley, returned a verdict of guilty; and Chryst was hanged in the public square on April 1, 1810. John Test assisted the prosecutor, and James Dill and James Noble conducted the defense. This was the first trial for murder in Wayne county.

But Salisbury's existence as the county seat was destined to be short lived. As early as 1814, Centerville, its neighbor and rival, made attempts to have the county seat moved there. The first session of the Indiana legislature, on Dec. 21, 1816, passed an Act by which the removal was authorized, on the condition that the citizens of Centerville provide public buildings equal in convenience and value to those already in Salisbury, without any expense to the county. Section 3 of the same act names Aug. 1, 1817, as the day, on and after which all public business shall be transacted at Centerville. Gov. Jonathan Jennings approved this act.

In August, 1817, the county commissioners met for the last time at Salisbury. James O'Dell and Thomas Beard, constituting a majority, ordered that the board adjourn to Centerville, the third member, Thomas J. Warman, dissented and refused to sit. An Act of the legislature, Jan. 28, 1818, authorizing the court to convene at Centerville and provided that it should convene on the first Monday of March, June, and October, and should sit six days each term. Accordingly, on the first Monday in March, 1818, the court convened at Centerville, but not with the feeling that Salisbury had relinquished her claim to the county seat. The next year the question was brought before the court to decide between Salisbury and Centerville as the legal seat. The presiding judge, John Watts, was absent. The associate judges, William McLane and Jesse Davenport, were of the opinion that Centerville was the legal seat and announced this, their rather ambiguous decision: "The seat of justice is permanently at Salisbury, the Act of Dec. 21, 1816, not having a sufficient repealing clause had not removed it; but that the Act of Jan. 28, 1818, authorized the court to hold their *pro tempore* session in the town of Centerville until the legislature shall otherwise direct." It is needless to say that the legislature has never otherwise directed, although as late as 1820 we find that the question came before the county commissioners. On Aug. 14, 1820, the question was finally settled by the Board, consisting of Isaac Julian and Benjamin Harris, who accepted the deed of the public square in Centerville.

Centerville rapidly forged to the front. She was settled by a class of citizens, progressive and intelligent, who soon won fame for her wherever they went and whatsoever profession they followed. Especially is this true of the legal profession. The lawyers and judges who assembled before the bar there gave to the Wayne County Bar a reputation second to none in Indiana. For more than fifty years justice was meted out by judges, such as Charles H. Test, James Perry, Miles C. Eggleston, Nimrod H. Johnson, and William A. Peele, and the whitewashed walls of the court house resounded to the pleadings of such men as Caleb B. Smith, James B. Ray, Jacob B. Julian, Oliver P. Morton, William A. Bickle, George W. Julian, and Charles H. Burchenal.

Many interesting facts concerning the early history of the Wayne County Bar are found in Oliver H. Smith's "Early Indiana Trials." He says: "We generally carried with us, on the circuit, 'Epinasse's Nisi Prius' and 'Peak's Evidence,' with dog-ears turned down at each heading." A case is related in which Cyrus Finch won a case of "assumpsit" from his opponent by reading a section from the Constitution of the United States. The unanimous decision of the court was that "The Constitution of the United States must prevail; judgment for the plaintiff." A case is also related in which a certain counsel attempted to cite various British authorities in support of his plea. Such books as Coke on Littleton, Blackstone, Bacon's Abridgement, Wood's Institutes, and Jacob's Law Dictionary were read to the Court. The Court, after listening to them all, announced that "These British authorities were all cut off on the Fourth day of July, 1776; judgment for the defendant."

An amusing anecdote is related of Judge Charles H. Test. In a certain case Judge Test moved to quash an indictment for gambling, on the ground that it was bad on its face. Judge Test was not a man of very prepossessing appearance, and his opponent, Jame T. Brown, quick to seize any advantage, arose and said: "Mr. Test, if everything is quashed that is bad on its face, what would become of you?"

Many a lawyer in those days made use of terms whose real meaning he little knew. Such terms as "*scire facias*," "*curia advicare vult*," "*trespass quare*," "*clausum fregit*," "*damnum absque*," and "*injuria*," were in common use there. A lawyer in those early days generally practiced in several counties and was known as "a circuit rider." The railroad was as yet unheard of, and previous to 1824 there was no bridge anywhere in the State of Indiana, so that

it was necessary that a horse should be a good swimmer as well as a good traveler. General Noble rode on "Wrangler," Rariden on "Old Gray," Amos Lane on "Big Sorrel," Judge Eggleston on "Indiana Pony," James B. Ray on "Red Jacket," and Oliver H. Smith on "Grey Fox," the highest priced horse of all, whose cost was $90.

James Gilmore, David Drew, Stephen Whitcher, Cyrus Finch, and Oliver H. Smith were admitted to the bar in October, 1820.

Cyrus Finch was prosecuting attorney in 1827-28, and was a lawyer of fine perceptive powers. He was also editor of the "Western Times," one of the leading newspapers of Eastern Indiana, and won fame in the literary as well as in the legal field.

Hon. Oliver H. Smith was a native of New Jersey who emigrated to Indiana in 1817. He was prosecuting attorney for the Third district in 1825-27. He was a member of the State legislature in 1822, of the United States Congress in 1827-29, and in 1837 was elected to the United States Senate, serving in this capacity for six years. His book, entitled "Early Indiana Trials," is probably the best work ever written on the early Indiana bar and is full of valuable material.

Lot Bloomfield, Abraham Elliott, and Martin M. Ray were admitted in April, 1822. The latter was a man of high moral character and a good lawyer. He was prosecuting attorney in 1829, and also from 1840 to 1843. He represented Wayne county in the State legislature in 1834-35.

Charles H. Test was admitted to the bar in 1823. He was a son of Judge John Test and practiced law in Lawrenceburg, Brookville, and Rushville, before removing to Centerville. He was a man of exceptional fine talents—his personal appearance being lost to sight when one listened to his masterly arguments. He was judge of the Wayne Circuit Court from 1830 to 1836 and State senator in 1840. He was also secretary of state from 1849 to 1853, and later in life was chosen judge of the Lafayette Circuit Court.

Hon. James Perry was another early faithful disciple of Blackstone, in Wayne county. A native of Ohio, he moved, in 1822, to Liberty, Ind., where he began the study of law. Admitted to the Wayne County Bar in 1824, he at once took rank with the best lawyers at the bar and, in 1831, he was licensed to practice before the Supreme Court of this State. He served as prosecutor for the Fifth Judicial Circuit from 1831 to 1832. This circuit then embraced Union, Fayette, Wayne, Henry, Allen, Randolph, La-

grange, and St. Joseph counties, but owing to his poor health he was obliged to have deputies in the northern counties. In 1840 he was chosen judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, serving in this capacity until 1844. He was an able and forcible pleader and a sound and reliable advocate.

John S. Newman was admitted to the bar of this county in 1828 and for more than thirty years was one of its most prominent members. He was a member of the convention to revise the Constitution of Indiana, in 1850, and was a man of good business ability. He served as president of three of the leading business enterprises in this State: The White Water Canal Company, the Indiana Central Railroad Company, and the Merchants' National Bank. As a lawyer his arguments were strong and his counsels safe.

Foster P. Wright, Gustavus A. Everetts, and William J. Brown were duly qualified and admitted in 1830.

Abner Haines, Thomas C. Anthony, George Holland, and Samuel Bigger were admitted in 1832. Abner Haines was a lawyer of more than ordinary ability and was at one time a partner of the Hon. Oliver H. Smith, while the latter resided at Centerville. He was elected probate judge in 1835, serving as such until 1837.

Samuel Bigger was an Ohioan by birth and first engaged in the practice of law at Lebanon, Ohio. He was elected to the State legislature in 1834, and in 1836 was elected judge of the Wayne Circuit Court, serving in that capacity until 1840. In that year he was elected governor of Indiana on the Whig ticket, serving his term acceptably and well. By his recommendation the Indiana Hospital for the Insane was established.

John T. Elliott, who was admitted to practice in 1833, was a man of fine scholarly attainments and was always popular with his colleagues at the bar. He served as judge of the Wayne Circuit Court for two terms—1844-1852 and 1856-1865—occupying the bench longer than any other judge in this county.

Hon. Samuel E. Perkins was a native of Vermont who first came into prominence as a Wayne county lawyer. In 1836, alone and on foot, he came to Richmond and entered the law office of James W. Borden. Admitted to the bar in 1837, he opened an office in Richmond, where his practice soon became large and lucrative. In 1843 he was appointed prosecuting attorney of the Sixth Judicial Circuit and the next year was one of the Presidential electors from Indiana. In 1845, at the age of thirty-four, he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court for one year. At the expiration of this time he was re-appointed and in 1852 and 1858,

under the new Constitution, he was re-elected by popular vote to the same high office. Later in life he filled the chair of Professor of Law in both the Northwestern Christian University and the State University at Bloomington. He was judge of the Marion Superior Court in 1872-76, resigning to again take up his old position on the Supreme Court bench, this time serving until his death, which occurred in 1879. As an author, his "Indiana Digest," published in 1858, and his "Indiana Practice," published the following year, are two of the best books on Indiana laws ever published. Few, if any, could excel him as a jurist, for, faultless in integrity of purpose, he adorned every public station to which he was called.

Contemporaneous with Judge Perkins was the Hon. Jacob B. Julian. Left an orphan by the death of his father, in 1823, his early years were passed on the farm and at the blacksmith's forge. With but a common school education and a smattering of Latin, he started out in the world alone. Obtaining employment in the office of Judge Newman, he spent his spare moments in the study of law. In 1839 he was admitted to the bar, and in 1844 he was elected prosecuting attorney of this circuit, then composed of Wayne, Fayette, Union, Rush, and Decatur counties. In 1846-48 he represented Wayne county in the State legislature, where he was especially prominent in advancing all works of public improvements. Although never very popular at the bar on account of personal peculiarities, his practice was always large and remarkably successful from every standpoint.

Closely associated with him by bonds of kinship as well as profession was his brother, Hon. George W. Julian, the distinguished lawyer, statesman and orator. His early life was one continuous struggle for culture and education, in the face of the most adverse circumstances. At one time he was "rodman" on the White Water canal, even then devoting all his spare time to his books. From 1837 to 1839 he was engaged in teaching school. But his ideals were higher than this. It had always been his highest ambition to become a member of the bar, and in the spring of 1839, while teaching in Illinois, he began the study of law. In 1840 he was admitted to the Wayne County Bar and immediately entered upon a career which was destined to bring him fame and honor. In the campaign of 1844 he won a brilliant reputation as a stump speaker, and in 1845 he was chosen a member of the State legislature. Mr. Julian sprang into national prominence in the famous Buffalo convention, in 1848, by warmly espousing the Free

Soil cause. During the Presidential campaign of that year he astonished everyone by the power and spirited eloquence of his speeches. In 1840 he was elected to Congress. His career in that body was not brilliant. He was one of the most radical of all the anti-slavery men and naturally drew upon himself the bitter hatred of his opponents, resulting in his defeat for re-election in 1851. In 1852 Mr. Julian was nominated as the Vice-Presidential candidate on the Free Soil platform and made a brilliant though unsuccessful campaign. He was especially prominent in the Republican convention at Pittsburgh, in 1856. He was one of the vice-presidents and chairman of the Committee on Organization. In 1858 he was again nominated for Congress and defeated, but in 1860 was elected by a large majority to represent this district in Congress. He was re-elected to the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Congresses. He was author of the Homestead Law and was a member of the committee which drafted the resolutions to impeach Andrew Johnson; also proposing the Fifteenth Amendment. His speeches held his audience spellbound and at the bar he was a strong and merciless opponent. In 1873 he retired from public life and afterward devoted much of his time to literary pursuits.

Admitted to the bar in the same year with Mr. Julian was the Hon. William A. Bickle. He was born in Virginia in 1819. Many of his early days were spent at the shoemaker's bench with his father. Desiring a college education in addition to what he had obtained in the common schools, he entered Miami University in 1837, but remained there only a short time. He returned to Centerville, where he began the study of law in the office of Judge Test. Being admitted to the bar in 1840, he at once removed to Richmond, where he entered upon the practice of his chosen profession. In this he was remarkably successful from every point of view and for two years was a partner of Jacob B. Julian. Later in life he was associated with both Judge Perry and W. P. Benton. At the organization of the Wayne Superior Court, in 1877, he was appointed as judge of the court at the unanimous request of the bar here. Judge Bickle was a self-made man in every sense of the word and all his success was achieved solely by industry and close application. Few members of the bar stood higher in the profession than he, and, when in his prime, his flights of eloquence never failed to move an audience. His style was grace itself, his words were well chosen and effective, and it was his pride to be able to express the same thought in as many different ways as possible. Judge Bickle died in 1898.

Jesse P. Siddall and John Yaryan were two members who were admitted in 1842 and who later became prominent. Jesse P. Siddall was born in 1821 and was the son of Atticus Siddall, an early Richmond merchant. Admitted to the bar of this county in 1842, he removed to Madison county, where he practiced for about two years. Coming to Centerville about 1845, he formed a partnership with the Hon. John A. Newman, a partnership which lasted for more than ten years. In 1852 he removed to Richmond, residing there until his death in unusually propitious circumstances, in all legal matters, and with a large circle of personal friends; yet he never aspired to hold office. Political life held forth no inducements to him. To him a quiet home, with a wide circle of congenial friends, offered more than legislative halls. Few men have ever surpassed him in a close and technical knowledge of the law, and his services were always in demand in close and intricate cases.

Hon. John Yaryan was born in 1813, being a native of Tennessee. When a boy he was crippled by a gun bursting in his hands, which disabled him for all manual labor, and he was therefore given a liberal education. He began the study of law under Judge Perry, at Liberty, and commenced to practice there. In 1842 he was admitted to the bar of this county, where he began a long and successful career. Especially in the political circles was he prominent. He represented Union county in the legislature twice, and Union and Fayette counties once in the State senate. In 1877 he represented Wayne county in the legislature and in 1888 was elected to the senate.

Hon. Nimrod H. Johnson was admitted in 1843 and at once attracted attention through his marvelous abilities, both as an advocate and jurist. He was commissioned prosecuting attorney in 1848, and in 1852 was appointed as first judge of the Common Pleas Court. In 1867 he was elected judge of the Wayne Criminal Court, in which position he was serving at the time of his death. His useful career was ended suddenly, in 1869, by his accidentally taking poison.

William A. Peelle was admitted to the bar in 1845. Removing to Winchester, Ind., the following year, in 1848 he was elected prosecutor for the Randolph Circuit Court. In 1854 he was elected judge for the Common Pleas Court of Randolph and Jay counties. In 1860 he was elected secretary of state on the Republican ticket, and six years later he was chosen as representative to the State legislature from this county. He also served for a short

time as judge of the Wayne Criminal Court. Judge Peelle was always regarded as a good lawyer and a safe counsellor.

No name among the list of Indiana's statesmen and jurists stands forth brighter than that of Oliver P. Morton. He was born in Wayne county, in 1823, and at the age of fifteen was apprenticed to a hatter in Centerville, working at his trade four years. He spent all of his spare moments in close, earnest study, and in 1841 entered Miami University. Graduating there with high honors, in 1843, he returned to his old home in Centerville and began the study of law in the office of John S. Newman. In 1846 he was admitted to the bar of this county. His legal preparation had been most thorough and conscientious, and this, coupled with his marvelous intellect and easy flow of language, soon brought him a reputation as Indiana's foremost lawyer and jurist. While he was engaged in the practice at Centerville his services were in great demand. It is related by William Dudley Foulke, in his "Life of Morton," that two adversaries, having become involved in some legal controversy, both sought to engage Morton's professional services. One of the combatants lived in Cambridge City; the other, in Richmond. Both started for Morton's office, in Centerville, but as the distance from Richmond to Centerville is somewhat shorter than that from Cambridge City to Centerville, the Richmond man arrived first, secured Morton's services, and ultimately won his case. In 1852 Morton was elected judge of the Wayne Circuit Court, serving somewhat less than a year in this capacity. Nominated by the Republican party for governor, he was defeated, in 1856, by Ashbel P. Willard. In 1860 the Republican party was victorious and Mr. Morton was elected lieutenant-governor, with Gen. Henry S. Lane as governor. The latter resigned, in 1861, to become United States Senator from Indiana, and Mr. Morton succeeded to the office of governor. In 1864 he was elected to the same office and filled it until 1867, when he became United States Senator, succeeding General Lane as the Republican choice. Re-elected to the same high office in 1873, he represented Indiana in this assembly until his death, which occurred Nov. 1, 1877. Few men have brought more renown to their native State than Oliver P. Morton. His speeches in the Senate chamber are models of clear, masterly, and penetrative thought. His style, in the words of William Dudley Foulke, was, "earnest and logical, but not ornate." During his practice at Centerville Mr. Morton was a prominent member of the "Dark Lyceum." This ... debating club, organized about 1842, by George W.

Julian, Neel McCullough, and others. Its sessions were generally held in the second story of the Seminary building, and as the name indicates, in the dark. Its purpose was to improve the members in extemporaneous debate and, under the cover of darkness, it was thought that they could speak and gesticulate with greater freedom. The "Dark Lyceum" was reorganized, in 1850, and its membership increased to sixteen. The "Monroe Doctrine," the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," the "Wilmot Proviso," and "Kossuth and Hungary" were among the great problems disposed of by its orators. The meetings were presided over by a "Premier" and every member in turn introduced some proposition and opened the debate. The care of the library and records were entrusted to a "Prelate," who also had the task of inquiring into the morals of the members. The members were often tried in solemn form for misbehavior. John F. Kibbey was indicted for marrying without the consent of the Lyceum. His act was a clear violation of Art. 1, Sec. 6, of the By-Laws, which reads: "Members are absolutely prohibited from engaging in any matrimonial alliances without first obtaining the approbation and consent of the Lyceum, and having granted unto them a 'Marriage Dispensation' in due form, under the signature of the Prelate and Seal of the Lyceum. Any member convicted of wilfully violating the provisions of this by-law shall be ignominiously expelled, his books confiscated, and his marriage declared utterly null and void."

Prominent among the members of the "Dark Lyceum," and closely associated with Mr. Morton, were Hon. Charles H. Burchenal and Judge John F. Kibbey. Charles H. Burchenal was born in Maryland in 1830. Removing to this county in 1841, he obtained a limited though thorough education in the public schools of Centerville and Richmond. He began the study of law, in 1850, under the direction of John F. Newman. Under the provisions of the Constitution, adopted in 1851, any citizen of legal age and of good moral character could be admitted to practice. Ignorant and incompetent men thus often crept into the profession, and Mr. Burchenal was unwilling to be classed with these. He voluntarily submitted to an examination by a committee of lawyers of the bar and passed their examination with credit, in 1852. In 1854 he was elected to the only office he ever held, that of district attorney of the Wayne Common Pleas Court. Quiet and unobtrusive by nature, he never aspired to any political fame. He was absolutely free from any fraud or sham. Gen. Benjamin Harrison said of him: "He added to fine intellectual powers a very high sense of

personal and professional honor." Mr. Burchenal died Dec. 7, 1890, leaving a large circle of personal friends.

Hon. John F. Kibbey was born in this county, in 1820. His early years were spent in study under his father, who was exceedingly well versed in literature. In 1845 he entered Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio. His aspirations had always been towards the bar, and, in 1849, he began the study of law in the office of Oliver P. Morton, in Centerville. After a study of two years he was admitted to the bar, in 1852, and soon afterwards formed a partnership with his former preceptor, Mr. Morton. This partnership was a happy combination. Mr. Morton, who had a great dislike for all kinds of office work, was especially strong before a jury, while Mr. Kibbey's strong forte was just in such minute and close study as was required to draw up pleadings, etc. In March, 1862, Mr. Kibbey was appointed attorney-general of Indiana to fill a vacancy in that office. In 1863 he was appointed military commander of his Congressional district, with the rank of colonel. His duties were to raise volunteers, equip them, and control the camps until mustered into service. While acting in this capacity he enlisted over 1,900 men. At the same time that he was engaged in military duties, Mr. Kibbey was also judge of the Wayne Common Pleas Court, holding this office from 1865 until it was abolished, in 1873. In October, 1873, he was elected judge of the Wayne Circuit Court, serving in this capacity until 1885. Few members of this bar had a wider and more general knowledge of the law than Mr. Kibbey, and his career upon the bench, a period of twenty years, won him distinction and honor.

Hermon B. Payne was also admitted to the bar in 1852. His studies were completed under Judge Perkins and were most thorough. Mr. Payne always practiced his profession in Richmond, and was always regarded as a safe lawyer and a good counsellor.

Lewis D. Stubbs was admitted to the bar of Wayne county in 1857. He read law under Judge Abner Haines, at Eaton, Ohio. Mr. Stubbs graduated from the Cincinnati Law School in 1857. He was prominent in political as well as legal circles for a number of years and served several years as chairman of the County Central Committee of the Republican party.

John C. Whitridge became a member of the bar in 1858. He was a lawyer of more than ordinary ability and was very successful in his practice. In 1860 Mr. Whitridge was elected district attorney, in connection with the Common Pleas Court, and served

in this capacity until 1804. He was extremely social by nature and was very popular with the members of the bar. Mr. Whitridge died in 1888.

Judge Henry C. Fox was admitted to the bar of this county in 1861. His legal knowledge was largely acquired under the tutelage of the Hon. George W. Julian, in whose office he studied. Mr. Fox first settled in Hagerstown, where he practiced his profession until 1868. In that year he removed to Centerville, where he formed a partnership with Judge Peelle. He served as district attorney of the Common Pleas Court from 1864 to 1868. Removing to Richmond, in 1873, he has since resided there. In 1878 he was elected judge of the Wayne Superior Court and served in this position until the court was abolished, in 1879. In 1896 Mr. Fox was elected as the judge of the Wayne Circuit Court and is the present incumbent in that office. He is a man of fine legal attainments and is popular in his profession.

Hon. Daniel W. Comstock was admitted to the bar of Wayne county in 1862. He graduated at the Ohio Wesleyan University, at Delaware, Ohio, in 1860. He was first admitted to the bar of Henry county, in 1861, and in the following year was elected district attorney for the Common Pleas Court of the Eleventh district. In 1863 he enlisted in Company E of the Ninth Indiana cavalry and served his country with distinction until 1865, leaving the service with the rank of captain. He was prosecuting attorney for the Wayne Circuit Court from 1872 to 1874, and in 1878 was elected to the State senate from Wayne county. Mr. Comstock was also the judge of the Wayne Circuit Court from 1885 to 1896, when he resigned to accept a judgeship on the bench of the Appellate Court of Indiana, which position he held until Jan. 1, 1911.

Thomas J. Study, Isaac B. Morris, and Abel L. Study, were admitted to the bar in 1863, and though never aspiring to political fame, labored faithfully and earnestly in upholding the dignity of their profession. The first is well known as a criminal lawyer and served a short time as the judge of the Wayne Circuit Court, in 1896, being appointed to succeed Daniel W. Comstock, who resigned.

Mr. Morris was especially prominent in advocating Bi-Metalism in this State and was a good speaker.

Abel L. Study was deputy district attorney under Henry C. Fox, and is an earnest, conscientious member of the profession. He has always resided in Richmond and has never aspired to political office.

A sketch of the Wayne County Bar would not be complete without mention of three prominent soldier lawyers, whose names are Gen. W. P. Benton, Gen. Thomas W. Bennett, and Col. W. W. Dudley. Each of these men was a valiant soldier as well as an able advocate. W. P. Benton was admitted to the bar in 1851 and at one time was a partner of Jacob W. Julian, as well as of Lewis B. Stubbs. Mr. Benton was elected judge of the Common Pleas Court in 1856 and served one term. When Fort Sumter was fired on he was the first man in Wayne county to respond to President Lincoln's call for volunteers. His record as a soldier was a brilliant one.

Thomas W. Bennett graduated at Asbury University in 1854, and first began the practice of law in Liberty, Ind. He enlisted in 1861, on the first call for troops, and entered the service as captain in the Fifteenth Indiana infantry. General Bennett took an active part in the battles of Shiloh, Arkansas Post, and Vicksburg. As a recognition of his services, President Grant appointed him governor of Idaho Territory in 1871. He was elected mayor of Richmond, in 1877, and gave the city probably the most successful administration it has ever had. General Bennett was popular among all classes—honest and generous in all things.

Col. W. W. Dudley won fame for himself in the battles of Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg. For his gallant services at Gettysburg he was breveted brigadier-general. Returning to this county after the war, he was admitted to the bar in 1875. His practice here was comparatively short, for he subsequently became United States Marshal of the District of Indiana. Mr. Dudley is now engaged in the practice of law in Washington, D. C.

John L. Rupe was admitted in 1868, having been a student in the office of Jacob B. Julian. In 1870 he was elected district attorney for the Common Pleas Court, and being re-elected in 1872, served until the office was abolished, in 1873. Mr. Rupe also served as mayor of Richmond from 1883 to 1887; he is an able lawyer.

Hon. Henry U. Johnson was admitted to the bar of Wayne county in 1872, and is a son of Hon. Nimrod H. Johnson. He was elected prosecuting attorney of the Wayne Circuit Court, in 1876, filling that position until 1880. His rise in public life was rapid and, in 1886, Mr. Johnson was elected to the senate of Indiana, where he first gained prominence as a politician. In 1890 Mr. Johnson was chosen by a large majority to represent this (the Sixth) Congressional district in Congress, and was re-elected four

times, by large majorities, to the same high position. His record in Congress was a brilliant one. He is a fearless, though honorable, opponent, as well as a fluent and able orator.

Since 1873 the seat of justice of Wayne county has been located at Richmond. An Act of the legislature of 1869 provided that whenever fifty-five per cent. of the legal voters of any county shall petition for the removal of the county seat, such removal shall be legal, provided that the county seat shall be moved at least three miles. Such a petition was signed by 4,937 voters, on June 3, 1872, and on Aug. 15, 1873, the records were removed to the new building in Richmond. In 1890 this building was replaced by an elegant, new, commodious structure, to which every citizen can point with pride.

Among the recent members of the bar, admitted since 1873, the following are prominent: Thomas R. Jessup, Benjamin F. Harris, Charles E. Shiveley, William Dudley Foulke, Jonathan W. Newman, John F. Robbins, Benjamin F. Mason, Arthur C. Lindemuth, Luther C. Abbott, Richard A. Jackson, Henry C. Starr, Alonzo M. Gardner, Roscoe E. Kirkman and Perry J. Freeman. Charles E. Shiveley was admitted to the bar in 1875, beginning his practice in Cambridge City, Ind. In 1880 Mr. Shiveley was elected prosecuting attorney and was re-elected in 1882. In 1894 he was elected to the State senate from Wayne county, and served four years. Mr. Shiveley is an able lawyer and a good parliamentarian.

Hon. William Dudley Foulke was admitted to the Wayne County Bar in 1875. His early education was obtained chiefly in the public schools of New York City and at the Friends' Seminary. Graduating at Columbia College, N. Y., in 1869, he entered the law school of the same college and graduated in it in 1871. In the political field his services have not been without distinction. In 1882 he was elected to the Indiana State senate from Wayne county and served for four years, being retired, in 1886, upon his refusal to support James G. Blaine. In his practice at the bar of this county Mr. Foulke has been associated with Jesse P. Siddall and John L. Rupe. His services in behalf of Civil Service Reform have won for him a wide reputation. As an author, his works—"Slav and Saxon" and "Life of Oliver P. Morton"—have attracted much attention and favorable comment, as stated elsewhere.

John F. Robbins, Richard A. Jackson, and Henry C. Starr have won no small reputation as criminal lawyers, and have each served as prosecuting attorney of the Wayne Circuit Court. Mr. Robbins was admitted in 1876 and served as prosecuting attorney from 1884

to 1880. Mr. Jackson was admitted to the bar in 1879 and was elected prosecuting attorney in 1880, serving two terms. Mr. Starr was admitted in 1880 and in 1890 was elected prosecuting attorney.

Roscoe F. Kirkman was admitted to the bar of Wayne county in 1889 and served as prosecuting attorney from 1895 until 1899.

COUNTY AND ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

1810, Peter Fleming, Aaron Martin, and Jeremiah Meek; 1812, William Harland; 1814—Peter Fleming, Aaron Martin, and Jeremiah Meek; 1815—David Hoover, Elijah Sparks, and Josiah Davidson; 1816, Aaron Martin; 1817, Jesse Davenport and William McLane; 1824, John Jones and John Scott; 1829, Caleb Lewis and Beale Butler; 1830, Beale Butler and Asa M. Sherman; 1837, Jesse Williams; 1839, David Hoover; 1842, James R. Mendenhall; 1845, John Beard; 1848, Abner M. Bradbury.

JUDGES OF THE COMMON PLEAS COURT.

1852, Nimrod H. Johnson; 1858, William P. Benton; 1860, Jeremiah Wilson; 1865, John F. Kibbey.

JUDGES OF THE WAYNE CIRCUIT COURT.

1811-15, Benjamin Parke; 1815, James Noble; 1816, Jesse L. Holman; 1817-19, John Test; 1819, John Watts; 1820-30, Miles C. Eggleston; 1830-36, Charles H. Test; 1836-40, Samuel Bigger; 1840-44, James Perry; 1844-52, John T. Elliott; 1852, Oliver P. Morton; 1853-55, Joseph Anthony; 1855-56, Jeremiah Smith; 1856-66, John T. Elliott; 1865-72, Silas Colgrove; 1872-73, Jacob Haynes; 1873, George A. Johnson; 1873-85, John F. Kibbey; 1885-96, Daniel W. Comstock; 1896, Thomas J. Study; 1896, Henry C. Fox, present incumbent.

JUDGES OF THE CRIMINAL COURT.

1867, William A. Peelle; 1867, Nimrod H. Johnson; 1869, George Holland.

JUDGES OF THE SUPERIOR COURT.

1877, William A. Bickle; 1878, Henry C. Fox.

JUDGES OF THE PROBATE COURT.

1820-32, Septimus Smith; 1832, David Hoover; 1833-35, Nathan Smith; 1835-37, Abner M. Haynes; 1837-41, Stephen B. Stanton; 1841-47, John B. Stitt; 1847-49, G. W. Whitman; 1849-52, John Curtis.

PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS.

1811-15, James Dill and James Noble; 1816, John Test; 1817, Stephen C. Stephens; 1819, James B. Ray; 1822, James Rariden; 1825, Oliver H. Smith; 1827, Cyrus Finch; 1829, Martin M. Ray; 1830, James Perry; 1832, William J. Brown; 1832, Samuel Bigger; 1833, William J. Brown; 1837, Samuel W. Parker; 1839, D. W. Macey; 1840, Martin M. Ray; 1843, John T. Hunt; 1844, Samuel E. Perkins; 1845, Jacob B. Julian; 1847, John B. Stitt; 1848, Nimrod H. Johnson; 1852, Joshua H. Mellett; 1853, Silas Colgrave; 1854, William A. Peelle; 1855, E. B. Martindale; 1856, Thomas M. Browne; 1862, James N. Templer; 1867, John Yaryan; 1873, Daniel W. Comstock; 1876, Henry U. Johnson; 1880, Charles E. Shively; 1884, John F. Robbins; 1886, Richard A. Jackson; 1890, Henry C. Starr; 1894, Roscoe E. Kirkman; 1898, William A. Bond; 1902, Wilfred Jessup; 1906, Charles Ladd, present incumbent. And as prosecutor of the Wayne Criminal Court, D. W. Mason served from 1867 to 1873.

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

1852-54, William P. Benton; 1854-56, Charles H. Burchenal; 1856-58, Jehial Railsback; 1858-60, John H. Popp; 1860-64, John C. Whitridge; 1864-68, Henry C. Fox; 1868-70, W. H. Jones; 1870-73, John L. Rupe.

MEMBERS OF THE WAYNE COUNTY BAR.

Admitted in 1815—Amos Lane, John Lawrence, John Test, Jesse L. Holman, James Dill, William Hendricks, James Noble, Edmund F. Vawter, and Stephen C. Stephens; 1818—Miles C. Eggleston, Addison Smith, James Rariden, and D. J. Caswell; 1819—William W. Wick, Nathaniel French, James B. Ray, and Bethel F. Morris; 1820—James Gilmore, Cyrus Finch, David Drew, Stephen Whitcher, and Oliver H. Smith; 1822—David Higgans, —— Hardy, Abraham Elliott, John T. McKinney, Martin M. Ray, and Lot Bloomfield; 1823, William R. Morris and Charles H

Test; 1824—Josiah A. Polk, James Perry, and Jones A. Miniwell; 1826, John B. Chapman; 1827, John D. Vaughan; 1828, John S. Newman; 1830—Foster P. Wright, Gustavus A. Everett, and William J. Browne; 1832—Abner Haines, Thomas C. Anthony, Samuel Bigger, and George Holland; 1833—Hugh B. Eggleston, John B. Weller, Charles Borland, John T. Elliott, Eli Murphy, Thomas Johnson, and Samuel Bascom; 1834, William Elliott; 1835—James B. Haile, W. H. Coombs, Andrew Hendy, Cyrus F. Dempsey, and Charles Moore; 1836, Dwight Jarvis and J. S. Hawkins; 1837—William Brumfield, James G. Green, Richard W. Thompson, —— Starweather, Samuel E. Perkins, James A. Sullivan, George B. Tingley, Edmond Johnson, John Brownler, Thomas D. Hawkins, and Elisha Vance; 1838, Zachariah Puckett; 1839—Jacob B. Julian, Andrew J. Harlan, Sampson Powers, John Ryman, and ——— Cox; 1840—Solomon Baker, William A. Bickle, James B. Sleeth, George W. Julian, and James Hannah; 1841—David Quinn, John S. Reid, and Joseph Justice; 1842—Jesse P. Siddall, William E. Rose, Michael Smith, and John Yaryan; 1843—Robert E. Cooper, Nimrod H. Johnson, and Neel McCullough; 1844—Rawson Vaile, John H. Farquhar, George Pattison, John D. Howland, R. A. Riley, Mathew S. Ward, and Enoch P. Justice; 1845—Lorenzo C. Doughtery, William A. Peelle, James A. Frazer, ——— Holman, David B. Woods, Oliver Butler, and Dillion Bridger; 1846—Oliver P. Morton, James Long, and Thomas Means; 1847—William A. Burroughs, John Withrow, and Benjamin A. Claypool; 1848, Ralph Berkshire and John Curtis; 1850, Joseph S. Buckles; 1851—Lafayette Develin, George Develin, John M. Washburn, Leonidas Sexton, and William R. Tomlinson; 1852—Charles H. Burchenal, John F. Kibbey, John C. Davidson, Elijah F. Estop, Robert N. Hudson, Herman B. Payne, Joseph Murphy, L. Noble, Noah W. Minor, James H. Hunt, Henry J. Shombre, and Silas T. Cooper; 1853—David T. Smith, William W. Tilley, Kibby Ferguson, and Jehiel T. Railsback; 1854, George A. Johnson; 1856—Fletcher Meredith, John H. Popp, and Charles C. Binkley; 1857, Edmund B. Newman and Lewis D. Stubbs; 1858—Solomon Meredith, Alexander W. Ray, John Crum, Sylvester Ballenger, Elson Nailey, and John C. Whitridge; 1859—Francis Pruyer, Daniel M. Bradbury, Henry Garrett, and James H. Woods; 1860—James H. McConnell, Israel Miles, William R. Halloway, Benjamin F. Beitzell, Charles H. Raymond, and D. W. Mason; 1861, Henry C. Fox; 1862—George W. Potter, George Sands, John S. Miner, and Daniel W. Comstock; 1863—William H. Watkins, Isaac B. Morris, Abel L. Study, and

Thomas J. Study; 1804—Joseph L. Gaus, David Moss, and William W. Woods; 1806—Jesse T. Williams, J. M. Albert, Richard S. Druley, Robert C. Corbaley, John S. Hawkins, and John S. Bliss; 1807—W. P. Payne, Calvin B. Walker, and H. J. Hayward; 1808—James S. Stewart, John L. Rupe, and Augustus B. Young; 1809—R. A. Riley, William R. West, Walter March, William R. Hough, and Herman Bronson; 1870—Samuel C. Whitesell, E. M. McDonald, W. T. Dennis, Samuel A. Forkner, Harrison Gabel, and Martin B. Miller; 1871, Robert B. Fletcher; 1872—Paul V. Washburn, Charles S. Ballenger, Henry U. Johnson, Thomas R. Jessup, and Almon H. Dickey; 1873—David H. Hill, David Fouts, and John S. Underwood; 1874—Norwood J. White, George Pomeroy, Peter W. Young, and William W. Dudley; 1875—Benjamin F. Harris, Isaac Doan, Judson Kilpatrick, Jasper Holland, Alonzo Pattey, D. C. Chipman, Charles E. Shiveley, James F. Henderson, Israel W. Gregg, William Dudley Foulke, Joseph H. Kibbey, and Jonathan W. Newman; 1876—Joseph T. Smith, G. H. McGrew, John F. Robbins, George W. Fee, B. F. Van Arman, and Hiram E. Moore; 1877—D. P. Whitesell, Alva Grave, Ralmajo Paige, and Perry Haines; 1878—Charles E. Boston, Marcellus L. McLaughlin, James T. Pretlow, and Oliver H. Bogue; 1879—Joseph Ruffner, Luke H. Wrigley, Lewis C. Morehouse, W. H. Ogborn, W. C. Ladd, Euss Thomas, John H. Mendenhall, Henry C. Rudy, William E. Cox, E. P. Ferris, and Richard A. Jackson; 1880—Luther C. Abbott, George S. Needham, Thomas E. Mott, Elias E. Post, and John R. Steever; 1881—John T. Deal, Charles S. Leeds, Albert Baker, and Isaac H. Pedrick; 1882—Malcolm Jackson, David W. Dennis, and Charles G. Offert; 1883, Walter O. Frazer and Jacob R. Penland; 1884, James W. Nichols; 1885—Frank C. Kibbey, Perry J. Freeman, and A. E. Woolput; 1886—Alonzo M. Gardner, Henry C. Starr, and John M. Lantz; 1887, William C. Bernhardt; 1888, William J. Strayer; 1889—Roscoe E. Kirkman, W. J. Capeller, Jesse E. Beeson, and Aaron M. Waltz; 1890—J. W. Jackson, William A. Bond, and Lynn E. Kepler; 1892, Llewllyn B. Jackson; 1893—Frank C. Roberts, W. C. Converse, Frank S. Lamar, and Charles M. Fouts; 1894, J. F. Nixon; 1896—Everett A. Richey, W. A. Medsker, Roy W. White, William H. Kelley, and Jesse R. Reeves; 1898, Robert W. Randle. Since 1900 a number have been admitted to the Wayne County Bar and at the present time the following are members. They are arranged according to the order of their admission: Daniel W. Mason, Cambridge City; Henry C. Fox, Richmond; Daniel W. Comstock, Richmond; Thomas J. Study,

Richmond; Abel L. Study, Richmond; John L. Rupe, Richmond; William F. Medsker, Cambridge City; Henry U. Johnson, Richmond; Thomas R. Jessup, Richmond; Benjamin F. Harris, Richmond; William D. Foelke, Richmond; Charles E. Shiveley, Richmond; Jonathan W. Newman, Richmond; John F. Robbins, Richmond; Benjamin F. Mason, Hagerstown; Arthur C. Lindemuth, Richmond; Luther C. Abbott, Richmond; Perry J. Freeman, Richmond; Henry C. Starr, Richmond; Alonzo M. Gardner, Richmond; Roscoe E. Kirkman, Richmond; William A. Bond, Richmond; Frank M. Conner, Richmond, Arthur A. Crume, Jr., Richmond; William H. Kelley, Richmond; William A. Medsker, Cambridge City; Paul Comstock, Richmond; Robert L. Study, Richmond; Alonzo R. Feemster, Cambridge City; Wilfred Jessup, Richmond; Ray K. Shiveley, Richmond; John C. Dodson, Cambridge City; A. C. Huey, Richmond; George W. Conrad, Richmond; William C. Dennis, Richmond; Byram Robbins, Richmond; Walter D. Cook, Centerville; Charles Ladd, Richmond; Joshua Allen, Hagerstown; Everett R. Lemon, Richmond; Joseph C. Burgess, Fountain City; Harold C. Burton, Greensfork; Gath Freeman, Richmond; Charles O. Wilhams, Williamsburg; Carmon Sells, Hagerstown; Clifford C. Bradbury, Richmond; Orange S. Harrison, Richmond; Willis D. Stoner, ———; Will W. Reller, Richmond; Frederick G. White, Whitewater; Gustave H. Hoelscher, Richmond; and Denver C. Harlan, Richmond.